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THE WAR IN WEXFORD

BY THE SAME AUTHORS

NAPOLEON AND THE INVASION OF ENGLAND

THE STORY OF THE GREAT TERROR 1797–1805. With 114 full-page Illustrations, including 8 in colour, reproduced from a unique collection of contemporary Caricatures, Broadsides, Songs, etc. 2 Vols. Demy 8vo.

Arthur Annesley, Viscount Valentia
First Earl of Mount Norris (1744-1816)

From a contemporary portrait in the possession of his descendant
Sir Arthur Lyttelton Lyttelton Annesley, K.C.V.O.

THE WAR IN WEXFORD

AN ACCOUNT OF THE REBELLION IN THE SOUTH OF IRELAND IN 1798 TOLD FROM ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

BY H. F. B. WHEELER & A. M. BROADLEY

WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS REPRODUCED FROM CONTEMPORARY PORTRAITS, PRINTS, ETC.

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TO

JAMES C. INGLIS

GENERAL MANAGER OF THE GREAT WESTERN RAILWAY
AND FOR THE SECOND YEAR
PRESIDENT OF THE INSTITUTE OF CIVIL ENGINEERS
UNDER WHOSE AUSPICES
THE SUCCESSFUL INAUGURATION OF THE
SHORT SEA ROUTE TO IRELAND
viâ FISHGUARD AND ROSSLARE
THE NAMES OF WHICH PLACES ARE BOTH CLOSELY
ASSOCIATED WITH THE STIRRING EVENTS OF 1797–1798
HAS DONE SO MUCH TO
POPULARISE THE NATURAL BEAUTIES OF
WEXFORD, WATERFORD, AND OTHER
PARTS OF SOUTHERN IRELAND
WITH ALL CLASSES OF TRAVELLERS
THIS VOLUME IS
WITH HIS PERMISSION
INSCRIBED BY

THE AUTHORS

LONDON
March, 1910

PREFACE

SOME eighteen months ago three MSS. of undeniable importance to a correct appreciation of one of the most interesting phases of Irish history, viz. the brief but bloody conflict in Wexford during the summer of 1798, were placed at the disposal of the writers. These documents consisted of the following items: 1st, the holograph correspondence of Arthur, Earl of Mount Norris, ranging from the 27th December, 1796, to the 10th July, 1813; 2nd, the Detail Book of the Camolin Yeomanry, the entries in which begin with the 25th May, 1798, and end the 9th October of the same year; 3rd, the journal of Mrs. Brownrigg, of Greenmound, Co. Wexford, which covers the period between 26th May and 21st June, 1798, when the troops under Sir John Moore relieved Wexford on the very day made memorable by the Battle of Vinegar Hill. These records, with the exception of the last-mentioned, to which brief allusion is made by Musgrave, do not appear to have been at the command of any of the numerous historians of the desperate struggle between Loyalists and Rebels. Some of these writers exhibit a strong bias in favour of the Government, while others make no secret of their whole-hearted sympathy with the insurgents. The object of this

volume is to tell once again the story of the War in Wexford by the aid of original documents, comparison being made in the course of the narrative of the statements of eye-witnesses contained in the MSS. now brought to light with those given in the pages of Hay, Byrne, Cloney, and Teeling, ardent partisans of the Catholics, and Musgrave, Taylor, Gordon, and Jackson, who enter the lists with equal enthusiasm on the part of the Protestants. James Anthony Froude and W. E. H. Lecky, especially the latter, may be regarded, to some extent, as impartial. It is thus that Froude, in a few trenchant sentences, sums up his opinions as to the merits of the case :

" Were it not for the enormous crimes which these infatuated men confessed that they were deliberately contemplating, the spectacle of Ireland on the eve of the rebellion of 1798 would rise into tragic piteousness. The long era of misgovernment had ripened at last for the harvest. Rarely since the inhabitants of the earth have formed themselves into civilised communities had any country suffered from such a complication of neglect and ill-usage. The Irish people clamoured against Government, and their real wrong, from first to last, had been that there was no government over them ; that, under changing forms, the universal rule among them for four centuries had been the tyranny of the strong over the weak ; that from the catalogue of virtues demanded of those who exercised authority over their fellow-men the word Justice had been blotted out. Anarchy had borne its fruits. The victims of scandalous misadministration had risen at last to demand redress ; but they had risen

in blind rage in pursuit of objects which, if obtained, could but plunge them deeper in their misery. They had appealed to England, and England had for bread given them a stone, for fish a serpent. Instead of practical justice she had given them political liberty, and when political liberty had proved a mocking phantom, they had gone mad and had started to arms, and were preparing for universal massacre and ruin.

"Their leaders disguised the hideousness of their schemes in patriotic rhapsodies. They compared themselves in fancy to the liberators of America or to the heroes of Jacobin France. They believed, or dreamt that they believed, that they were to enrich the annals of mankind by the achievement of a glorious revolution. Their road to it hitherto had lain through midnight murder, through seduction of honest men from their duty, through the contemplation of crimes so horrible that they shrank appalled from the ferocity of each other's conceptions. Though engaged, as they supposed, in the most glorious of causes, they had been unable to inspire one another with the fidelity which the pickpocket displays to his comrades. In every Committee there were traitors, one or many. They had generated round them an atmosphere of villainy, and when they lifted their hands at last to strike the blow which was to break the chains of Ireland, they found themselves in the hands of the police, fallen from the high peaks to which they were in imagination soaring to the level of common felons."[1]

In dealing with facts, Froude is not always en-

[1] Froude, Vol. III., pp. 400–1.

tirely accurate, and occasionally he comes to conclusions which the evidence he adduces scarcely justifies. Although the Earl of Mount Norris played a conspicuous part in the affairs of 1798, he is only referred to as Lord Mountmorris,[1] and it is sometimes difficult to account for discrepancies which, here and there, have crept into an undeniably monumental work.

It must not be forgotten that it was in beautiful Wexford that the death-struggle of 1798 between Loyalist and Rebel was specially characterised by that ferocity and vindictiveness which only spring from an intensity of religious feeling. As far as Wexford was concerned, it was nothing less than the *jihad*, or Holy War of the Roman Catholics of the South against the Protestants and their protectors. No quarter was asked for, given, or expected. Hence the outrages which make men shudder after the lapse of more than a century.

Camolin Park, in County Wexford, had come to the Annesleys through the marriage, in 1741, of the sixth Earl of Anglesey with Juliana, daughter of Richard Donovan, the owner of that estate, and the writer of the Camolin Papers was her only son.

The personality of Arthur Annesley, the moving spirit of the Camolin Yeomanry, the Loyal Mount Norris Rangers, and the Loyal Mount Norris Yeoman Infantry, born in 1744, was in many ways remarkable. On the death, in 1761, of his father, Richard Annesley, sixth Earl of Anglesey, seventh Viscount Valentia, and fifth Baron Altham, the earldom seems to have reverted to the descendants of the second son

[1] Froude, Vol. III., p. 432.

of the first Earl; but Arthur Annesley inherited the second title, and as Viscount Valentia took his seat four years later in the Irish House of Peers. His claim to a writ of summons as Earl of Anglesey in the English Parliament was rejected only by a single vote in the Committee of Privilege. In 1767 he married Lucy, only daughter of George, Lord Lyttelton,[1] who died in 1783. His second wife, who lived till 1849, was a daughter of the Rt. Hon. Sir Henry Cavendish and the Baroness Waterpark. In December, 1793, Viscount Valentia was created Earl of Mount Norris.[2] He survived the troubles of 1798 for eighteen years, dying in 1816, when his honours devolved on his son George, so named after his distinguished maternal grandfather, the "Good" Lord Lyttelton. At his demise, in 1844, the earldom became extinct. The present representative of the energetic cavalry captain of 1798 is Lieut.-General Arthur Lyttelton Lyttelton-Annesley, who has assumed the additional name of Lyttelton, and also represents in the female line the first Barony of Lyttelton. It is by the kindness of General Lyttelton-Annesley that the writers are enabled to give, for the first time, a reproduction of the striking family portrait of the first Earl of Mount Norris.

Camolin Park, the scene of so much excitement during the "War in Wexford," no longer belongs to the House of Annesley. It was sold in 1852 by the then owner, Mr. Lyttelton-Annesley, to Mr. James Foster, of Stourton Castle, Staffordshire, and the

[1] See *Dr. Johnson and Mrs. Thrale*, by A. M. Broadley, published by John Lane, 1909, p. 211.

[2] Burke gives the title as Mountnorris, but its first holder, at any rate, invariably wrote it Mount Norris.

present owner is Mr. W. H. Foster, of Apley Park, Shropshire. Much of the land has been divided among the tenants, and the mansion-house is now used as a College of Forestry.

At the present moment the eyes of travellers and politicians are alike directed to Ireland. The problem of Home Rule must inevitably become once again pre-eminently a burning question, and, on the other hand, the inauguration of the new Great Western short sea route to Ireland by way of Fishguard and Rosslare is bringing crowds of holiday-makers to Wexford and Waterford, as well as to the Lakes of Killarney and the Valley of Ovoca.

It is certainly a strange coincidence that this pleasant journey should commence at Fishguard, the scene of the only practical attempt to carry into effect the oft-repeated threat of Gallic invasion on English soil, and end at Rosslare, mentioned more than once in the Camolin Papers, and almost within sight of Wexford, where the statue of one of the Vinegar Hill combatants now looks down, peacefully and complacently, on crowds of appreciative sight-seers. It is hoped that the twentieth-century traveller, as well as the twentieth-century politician, will find much to interest them in the story now placed before them. The authors desire to express their acknowledgments of assistance kindly given them to General Sir Arthur Lyttelton Lyttelton-Annesley, K.C.V.O., F.S.A., F.R.G.S., F.Z.S., as well as to Mr. S. A. Pope and Mr. W. Beddoes, J.P., both of the Great Western Railway.

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CONTEMPORARY MAP OF THE COUNTY OF WEXFORD IN 1798

THE WAR IN WEXFORD

THE WAR IN WEXFORD

CHAPTER I

THE SEEDS OF SEDITION

Who fears to speak of Ninety-eight?
Who blushes at the name?
When cowards mock the patriot's fate,
Who hangs his head for shame?
JOHN K. INGRAM.

THE sunset of the eighteenth century in Ireland was as lurid and stormy as its dawn had been colourless and watery. The thunder of the French Revolution echoed in low rumblings throughout the land of ruined castles and of ruined causes, just and unjust, to culminate in the outburst of '98. The Rebellion relieved the tense political atmosphere, and was followed by the calmer weather of the Union which, for good or ill, was brought about in 1800. Let us recall as briefly as possible the principal events which heralded the internal warfare destined in the spring and summer of 1798 to devastate both the country-side and the populous centres.

The seeds of Jacobinism which an ill wind had blown across the Channel fell on thorny ground in England and Scotland, although a stubborn crop of

sedition was raised under the diligent care of such men as Tom Paine,[1] Dr. Priestley,[2] Thomas Muir,[3] and Horne Tooke.[4] Their efforts were aided by various clubs and associations, of which the Friends of the People, the Constitutional, Reform, and London Corresponding Societies, and the Society for Constitutional Information are typical examples. It was in the fertile soil of Ireland that the Republican flower blossomed in profusion. The fact that the Volunteer movement of 1778–82, originally formed to protect the island from a possible invasion by the French when the regular Irish troops had been drafted to America, had proved itself capable of weighing down the political scales on the side of legislative independence was by no means lost sight of by those who held advanced

[1] Thomas Paine (1737–1809). In 1790–2 he published *The Rights of Man* in answer to Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution*, for which he was tried and found guilty. Became a member of the French National Convention, was thrown into prison by Robespierre, and in 1802 sailed for the United States, where he remained until his death. Large quantities of his *Age of Reason* were distributed gratis in Ireland.

[2] Joseph Priestley (1733–1804), theologian, philosopher and author of many controversial works. In 1791 some of his friends held a meeting to celebrate the fall of the Bastille, which so incensed the mob that a riot ensued, Priestley losing his manuscripts, library and apparatus by his house being wrecked. Like Paine, he ended his days in the United States.

[3] Thomas Muir (1765–1798), Parliamentary reformer. Arrested for sedition 1793, transported to Botany Bay and escaped in 1796. He died at Chantilly, the consequence of wounds received on board a Spanish frigate at Cadiz.

[4] John Horne Tooke (1736–1812), politician and philologer. He was found guilty of libel in connection with an attack on the English ministry in the matter of the American War. Acquitted of high treason, 1794. His chief literary work is *The Diversions of Purley*.

opinions. England's extremity was Ireland's opportunity. In 1779 a new era of prosperity seemed about to follow one of stagnation and poverty. At last the sister kingdom was at liberty to sell and buy in the markets of the world, excepting only Great Britain, and even this embargo appeared likely to be removed by Pitt in 1785. Ireland was no longer the Ishmael of the nations.

Unfortunately many manufacturers, especially in Lancashire, raised a hue and cry against commercial intercourse with the Emerald Isle, and the proposition was so pruned in its final stage that the Irish patriotic party would have none of it. As a consequence there was retrogression instead of progress, the peasants gradually lost heart, and when hope vanishes the individual either becomes as a reed shaken by the wind, listless and without energy, the sport of every passing zephyr, or the primal instinct of self-preservation by fair means or foul asserts itself. Taking the nation as a whole, the latter rule obtained. While Henry Grattan [1] persistently held on his course of equal political rights for the debarred Roman Catholic as well as for the enfranchised Protestant, it soon became evident that oratory alone would not bring about the desired end, and Pitt's projects for Parliamentary reform did little to rectify matters.

The coming event of 1800 cast its shadow in 1792, as is evident in two very important letters in Pitt's

[1] Henry Grattan (1746–1820). Called to the Irish Bar, 1772; Member of the Irish Parliament, 1775. After the Union he represented Malton and subsequently Dublin in the House of Commons.

handwriting discovered some years ago.[1] Although Sir Hercules Langrishe [2] introduced a Catholic Relief Bill, which "was passed unwillingly to please the English Cabinet," [3] Chatham's son, whom Macaulay calls "the first English Minister who formed great designs for the benefit of Ireland," makes it abundantly clear that the Protestant establishment was to be paramount. Writing to Lord Westmorland,[4] the Lord-Lieutenant, on the 29th January, 1792, he admits that "We have thought only of what was the most likely plan to preserve the security and tranquillity of a British and Protestant interest. . . .

"In the present situation I am so far from wishing you to go farther than you propose that I really think it would be unwise to attempt it. If any [attempt] is made now or hereafter to gain more by force or menace than Parliament is disposed to give, we must and will resist it, or there is an end to all government.

"As to what may be wise for the future, I still believe that, not excluding a possibility even of further concessions, if circumstances should admit of it, would be the best security for the Protestant interest. But

[1] In the Fane Collection in the Record Tower at Dublin Castle. They were first printed by Mr. Henry Jephson in an able article on "The Irish Parliament of 1782," which appeared in the *Nineteenth Century*, No. 100, pp. 984–985.

[2] Sir Hercules Langrishe (1731–1811), first baronet, created 1777.

[3] *The English in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*. By James Anthony Froude, M.A. (Ed. 1895), Vol. III., p. 60.

[4] John Fane (1759–1841), tenth Earl of Westmorland. Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland 1789–1795; recalled 1795; Lord Privy Seal 1798–1827, excepting only from the 5th February, 1806, to the 25th March, 1807.

I have no difficulty in saying to you that my opinion will never be for bringing forward any concession beyond what the public mind and the opinion of those who are the supporters of British government or its present establishment are reconciled to.

"I may have my own opinion as to expediency, but I am inclined myself to follow theirs, not to attempt to force it, and, as I have said already, every tumultuous attempt to gain more than Government or Parliament may be disposed to give must always be resisted.

"Any pledge, however, against anything more in future seems to me to be in every view useless and dangerous, and it is what, on such a question, no prudent government can concur in. I say nothing on the idea of resisting all concessions, because I am in hopes there is no danger of that line being taken.

"If it were, I should really think it the most *fatal measure that could be contrived for the destruction ultimately of every object we wish to preserve.*"

The second letter is dated Downing Street, 18th November, 1792:

"Dear Westmorland,—. . . The idea of the present fermentation gradually bringing both parties to think of a union with this country has long been in my mind. I hardly dare flatter myself with the hope of its taking place, but I believe it, though itself not easy to be accomplished, to be the only solution for other and greater difficulties.

"The admission of Catholics to a share of suffrage

could not then be dangerous. The Protestant interest, in point of power, property, and Church establishment, would be secure, because the decided majority of the Supreme Legislature would necessarily be Protestant; and the great ground of argument on the part of the Catholics would be done away; as compared with the rest of the Empire, they would become a minority.

"You must judge when and to whom the idea can be confided. It must certainly require great delicacy and management, but I am heartily glad that it is at least in your thoughts.

"Yours ever,

"W. Pitt."

Secret societies and discontent invariably flourish together. Ireland had been a warren of such religious, political, or social reform organisations as the White Boys, Right Boys, Oak Boys, Whitefeet, Blackfeet, True Blues, Peep-o'-Day Boys, and the Defenders, while in 1791 the Society of United Irishmen had come into being in Belfast, followed by innumerable Orange Lodges four years later. In 1793 the franchise was extended to the Roman Catholics, but owing to the action of the United Irishmen in calling a convention at Athlone—a proposed political forcing-frame to raise further sprigs of concession—an Act was passed to preclude such meetings.[1] Tumult and outrage in eleven counties, including Wexford, made the summer of 1793 a memorable one, and the

[1] 33 George III., cap. 29.

Irish Parliament voted a levy of 16,000 additional Militia.[1] Coming events were again casting their shadows before, but in a different direction.

When Lord Fitzwilliam,[2] with many optimistic promises, took up his residence in Ireland at the beginning of 1795, affairs once more put on a rosier complexion. Popular enthusiasm, never at the best of times a particularly stable quality, sank to zero when the new Lord-Lieutenant, who had shown his trump card of Catholic emancipation too soon, was peremptorily recalled in the February of the following year. A close study of Froude's chapter on "The Fitzwilliam Crisis" shows that Fitzwilliam acted on his own responsibility, and committed himself to a policy antagonistic to the instructions given to him by the home Cabinet. In other words, his crime was in endeavouring to govern Ireland on behalf of her inhabitants rather than from England's point of view. On the 12th February, 1795, Grattan moved for leave to bring in a Bill for "the relief of his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects." If we may infer from the fact that not a single Protestant petition was presented

[1] *A History of the British Army.* By the Hon. J. W. Fortescue (London: 1906), Vol. IV., p. 217.

[2] William Wentworth Fitzwilliam, second Earl Fitzwilliam in England and fourth in Ireland (1748–1833). At first a Whig, he dissented from Mr. Fox when the latter approved of French revolutionary ideas. Appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland the 10th December, 1794, and recalled. He landed at Dublin on the 4th January, 1795, and returned to England on the 25th March, 1795. President of the Council from the 11th July to the 17th December, 1794. Lord Fitzwilliam held the same office in the Grenville Administration from the 19th February, 1806, to the 8th October of the same year.

against it the scheme was certainly popular and would have supplied "a long felt want."[1] There were only three dissentients;[2] opposition came from the Duke of Portland,[3] Fitzwilliam's immediate chief, who had entered into the coalition on the distinct understanding that he should have "the general management and superintendence of Ireland."[4] Fitzwilliam was sacrificed, and it is significant that the Irish House of Commons declared that he "merited the thanks of this House and the confidence of the people,"[5] a sentiment approved by the Upper Chamber and applauded at many a less important gathering. A recent writer remarks with reference to Grattan's proposition that "There can be little doubt that with the support of the Government it would have been carried; but suddenly this policy of conciliation was reversed; Lord Fitzwilliam was recalled, and a veto was put upon the further progress of the measure. There followed as a consequence the Catholic rebellion of 1798, put down with ruthless force; the Catholics were cowed and dismayed, and the occasion seemed a fit one to Pitt and the English Government to effect

[1] *Two Centuries of Irish History, 1691–1870*, with Introduction by James Bryce, M.P. (London: 1888), p. 138.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 136.

[3] William Henry Cavendish Bentinck (1738–1809), third Duke of Portland; succeeded to Dukedom 1762; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland 1782; Prime Minister 1783; Home Secretary 1794–1801; Prime Minister 1807–1809. The passing of the Act of Union with Ireland was largely due to his exertions.

[4] Lord Fitzwilliam to Lord Carlisle, Plowden, Vol. II., p. 467. *See* also *Irish Parliamentary Debates*, Vol., XIV., p. 184.—*Ibid.*, p. 134.

[5] 2nd March, 1795.

the Union and to put an end to a separate Irish Parliament." [1]

When Lord Camden [2] was appointed to succeed Fitzwilliam as Viceroy, the Duke of Portland made it abundantly clear why his predecessor had failed. "As to the Catholic question," he writes, "it was understood that Lord Fitzwilliam was to prevent it being agitated at all. If he failed he was to use his diligence in collecting the opinions and sentiments of all descriptions of persons, and transmit them for the information of his Majesty. Things are no longer in the same state, but our general directions to you are the same." Grattan, as we have seen, was about to introduce a Bill for the further relief of the Roman Catholics, and Camden was advised not to negative its first reading. From what follows it is obvious that after this formality it was to be opposed tooth and nail. He was warned of the divisions among the anti-Catholics, but "provided the great body of the Protestants will exert themselves in the contest, you are authorised to give them the most decided and unreserved support, and make every exertion they can desire to prevent the admission of the Catholics to seats in the Legislature." Seminaries for the education of Catholic priests [3] and provision for the Catholic

[1] "The Two Unions," by G. Shaw Lefevre, in the *Contemporary Review*, April, 1886, p. 575.

[2] Sir John Jeffreys Pratt (1759–1840), second Earl and first Marquis of Camden; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland 1794–1798; Secretary of War 1804–1805; President of the Council 1805–1806 and 1807–1812. Created Marquis of Camden 1812.

[3] The proposal was introduced by Mr. Pelham on the 24th April, 1795, and to which Maynooth owes its existence.

parochial clergy were regarded as "measures likely to improve the condition and satisfy the minds of the Catholics, without endangering the Protestant Establishment."

Had Camden been an angel in disguise it must be conceded that no little difficulty would have been experienced by him in carrying out the Utopian advice so persuasively set forth in the concluding paragraph, which is preluded by the sentence, "One caution more," and may or may not reveal intense irony on the part of the Duke of Portland. It is as follows: "You will need all your prudence. Those who fancied they were about to be sacrificed will assume airs of exultation and triumph little suited to conciliate those who have been stopped in the career which they had just entered; and the disappointment of the latter may be productive of great ill-humour and some violence. Moderate, soothe, conciliate these jarring spirits. We have great confidence in your judgment, firmness, and discretion." [1]

Grattan's Bill, which boldly asked for a total repeal of the popery laws, was introduced on the 24th April. It was read a second time on the 4th May, 1795, and rejected by 155 to 84.[2] There was a flood of oratory lasting all day and all night, "and the question of Catholic Emancipation was dismissed from the Irish Parliament, to be raised again as opportunity offered for purposes of faction, but never more with

[1] Instructions to Lord Camden, 10th March, 1795. Froude, Vol. III., pp. 158–161.

[2] *Memoirs of the Different Rebellions in Ireland.* By Sir Richard Musgrave, Bart. (Dublin, 1801), p. 134.

serious prospect of acceptance, as long as Ireland had a separate constitution." [1] We do not agree with the "faction" phrase, but entirely with the one following it.

A Bill of considerable importance was introduced in the House of Commons in January, 1796, and became law in the following March. That it was necessary to stop the robberies and murders which occurred all too frequently is obvious, but the methods adopted were caustically drastic. Among other things it provided for the registration of persons possessing fire-arms; that when a district became disturbed the Privy Council was to proclaim the disaffected part, and that "all persons are required to keep within their houses between sun-set and sun-rise; and are liable to be transported if found out of their houses in the night." Musgrave, who does not enter into the political aspect of the rebellion to any great extent, preferring the details of war to those of peace, waxes eloquent in this matter. "In such parts of Ireland, as this salutary law was enforced, it completely put an end to the nocturnal ravages of the United traitors." [2] His belief in the curfew bell is such that "Every person, acquainted with the ferocious and sanguinary disposition of the lower class of people in Ireland, will agree with me, that this wise law should never be repealed." On the other hand it is clear that "This put at the mercy of every unscrupulous enemy, the life and liberty of members of the popular party in the country. The

[1] Froude, Vol. III., p. 173.
[2] Musgrave, p. 149.

Ascendency faction had but to burn down a cabin : the expelled inmates were ' vagrants,' and could be banished for life. Mercenary foes had but to swear that a political or social antagonist had administered an unlawful oath, and the executioner was set to work." [1]

When Fitzwilliam left the scene of his brief but troubled career as Lord-Lieutenant, Ireland metaphorically donned mourning. The old religious differences became the burning topic of the hour, and God help the country where theology and politics are the *alpha* and *omega* of discussion. The United Irishmen, after having been quiescent and not quashed as Government had fondly hoped, suddenly took on a fresh and invigorated lease of life, becoming an octopus whose tentacles gradually spread throughout the length and breadth of the land.

The forces at the disposal of the Government to combat the monster were extremely small. The Irish Military Establishment was fixed by Act of Parliament at 15,000 men, but in the years 1793 and 1794 the ranks were depleted by 3,000 troops quartered abroad. According to Fortescue, our greatest living authority on such matters, the total for 1795, including regulars and fencibles, was 20,246, with 21,369 militia ; for the following year 19,012 regulars and fencibles and 22,698 militia.[2] The weak state of defence and the

[1] *Two Centuries of Irish History*, p. 149.

[2] Fortescue, Vol. IV., Part 2, p. 938. The Irish Establishment signifies the number of troops for which the Irish Treasury provided pay. Many of them were abroad, in fact nearly all the regular infantry.

difficulty in sending reinforcements may be gathered from the letters printed below, and now first published:[1]

" Horse Guards August 17th 1796.

" Sir,

" I have the Honor to lay before Your Majesty the Weekly States as likewise the different Memoranda for Your Majesty's Approbation.

" I have likewise to report to Your Majesty that Mr Pitt came to Me this Morning, and in the name of Your Majesty's Ministers acquainted Me, that in consequence of some very pressing Intelligence from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, it was deemed absolutely necessary that a Reinforcement should be sent from hence to Ireland as soon as possible. The only Reinforcement which it is in Our power to send at present is the 6th Dragoon Guards, and 12th Light Drags, and the Manx and Loyal Tay Fencible Infantry.

" Your Majesty might likewise approve of the three Foreign Corps of Löwenstein Hompesch and Waldstein which are at present at the Isle of Wight, waiting to be sent to the West Indies, being ordered to proceed immediately to Cork, and to remain there till an Opportunity offers to send them on to their Destination; Should Your Majesty sanction these different Arrangements, the Troops may be ordered to proceed to Ireland immediately.

" Mr Dundas has likewise acquainted Me that a Representation has been made both by M. Genl Gordon and M-General Sir Hew Dalrymple, that in case of any Accident happening to them, the Command

[1] Mr. Broadley's Georgian MSS.

in both the Islands of Jersey and Guernsey, would fall upon the Colonels of Fencibles, and begging therefore that a Brig. General might be appointed to each Island under Them, I beg leave therefore to mention to Your Majesty the Names of Colonels Burton and Monson to be appointed Brigadiers General in those Islands.

" I mean to pay My Duty to Your Majesty at Weymouth next Sunday, and hope to be able to lay before You Sir, different Papers concerning the interior Arrangements in case of an Invasion, as likewise concerning the Reduction of most of the French Corps.

" I have &c.

" (signed) FREDERICK." [1]

" Weymouth Augt 19[h] 1796.

" My Dear Frederick, I approve of the 6th Reg[t] of Dragoon Guards and the 12th Light Dragoons returning to Ireland as also the Loyal Tay Fencible Cavalry; the foreign Corps of Löwenstein Hompesch and Waldstein now in the Isle of Wight may be sent to Cork till they can proceed to the West Indies.

" I approve of Colonels Burton and Monson being placed as Brigadiers on the Staffs of Guernsey and Jersey as it would not be desirable the Commands should devolve to Fencible Colonels.

" The Memorandas are all very proper.

" I am glad you think of arriving here on Sunday, believe me ever

" My Dear Frederick

" Your most Affectionate Father

" GEORGE R."

[1] On the 3rd April, 1798, the Duke of York was appointed Commander-in-Chief.

"H.R.H. to the King.

"London September 8h 1796.

"Sir

"I have the Honor to transmit to Your Majesty the Monthly Returns, and Weekly States, and to lay before You, Sir, for Your Approbation the Recommendations for the vacant Commissions, I must at the same time humbly beg Your Majesty's pardon for not having sent these Papers Yesterday, but having had a very long Conference with Mr Pitt and Mr Dundas, and afterwards with the Duke of Portland upon several points, I was too late for the Mail.

"In the Conference I had with Your Majesty's Ministers, after due Consideration it was determined to offer the Command of the Army in Ireland to Sir Charles Grey,[1] but to My great Surprize when I mentioned it to Him this Morning, He has absolutely refused it, and in a Manner which convinces Me, that He has completely made up His mind. He excuses Himself upon the precarious State of His Health, but thinks Himself fully adequate to continue in the Command of the Southern District. Under these Circumstances it is very difficult to know who to recommend to Your Majesty for the very important Situation of Commander in Chief in Ireland, and the least objectionable Arrangement in My opinion would be, to endeavor to persuade Lord Carhampton [2] to accept of it.

[1] Sir Charles Grey (1729–1807), called the "No-flint General," General 1795; created Baron Grey de Howick 1801; Earl 1806.

[2] Lord Carhampton accepted the post, resigning in November, 1797.

"I am at present employed in making out the General Disposition of the Troops upon the Breaking up of the Camps, which I must humbly propose to Your Majesty may take place at the latter End of this Month, as not only it will hinder the Increase of Disease, which generally takes place in all Camps during the Autumn, but will likewise be a very considerable Saving in the Expence, as the Bargains with the Contractors for the Bread, Hay, Straw &c were made at the time when these Articles were at a most extraordinary price, Government now loses near five and Twenty pr Cent upon them.

"As the Declaration is made out I shall have the Honor to lay it before Your Majesty.

"(signed) FREDERICK."

"On board the *St Fiorenzo*, Sept. 10^h, 1796.

"My Dear Frederick, Yesterday I received your Box containing the Monthly Returns and Weekly States; I approve of the proposed douceur for Lieutenant General O'Hara whose Finances at the present moment must require that Assistance. I approve of the Memorandas.

"It is curious so much interest was made that Sir Charles Grey might be appointed to the Command of the Forces in Ireland without its being known whether it would be agreable to Him, He having declined, I perfectly agree that the activity, tallents and local advantages that Lord Carhampton is the fittest person for that command. I have Sounded Sir William Pitt,[1]

[1] Sir William Augustus Pitt (1728–1809).

SIR DAVID DUNDAS, K.B.
From a contemporary portrait in the collection of Mr. A. M. Broadley

who assures Me from having seen his conduct in Ireland that He is persuaded it will be an advantageous Choise, I therefore approve of Your forwarding this Arrangement; but this will certainly make it not right to press David Dundas to go there, for Carhampton is too active to require his private counsel, and his Services may be highly useful in this Country.

"The Sooner the Troops can begin to get into Barracks the better. I ever remain

"My Dear Frederik

"Your most Affectionate Father

"GEORGE R."

"P.S. The accompanying Memorial I received this morning, Sir W. Pitt, Ld. Cathcart[1] and M. G. Gwynn speak highly of Him; but how he can be brought forward I do not well see though I believe he is meritorious."

"To the King. "Horse Guards

"October 28th 1796.

"Sir,

"As it appears from the enclosed private Letter from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to the Duke of Portland, which I have the Honor to transmit to Your Majesty, that an Augmentation to the Staff of Ireland is absolutely necessary, which the Lord Lieutenant is desirous may take place as soon as possible, the Duke of Portland has desired Me not to delay taking Your

[1] Sir William Schaw Cathcart (1755–1843), tenth Baron Cathcart in the Scottish peerage, and first Viscount and Earl Cathcart. He was Commander-in-Chief in Ireland, 1803–5.

Majesty's Pleasure upon it, and to lay before Your Majesty the Names of Major Generals Loftus and Hutchinson to be Major Generals, and of Colonel Ormsby Knox and the Earl of Cavan to be Brigadier Generals, according to the Recommendation of the Lord Lieutenant.

"(signed) FREDERICK."

The majority of the prominent figures in the ranks of the United Irishmen were lawyers and not soldiers, although several of them had served as volunteers. The idea seems to have emanated from the resourceful brain of Theobald Wolfe Tone,[1] a man of considerable ability but lacking in many of the qualities which go to make up the successful commander. Protestants, Dissenters, and Roman Catholics were admitted, for civil and religious liberty coupled with national government was the original platform, to be changed from time to time until it became avowedly republican and military. In 1796, after an enforced journey to America, Tone went to France, and together with E. J. Lewens,[2] an accredited representative of the United Irishmen, entered into negotiations with the Directory for the help which had been promised soon after the declaration of war against England in 1793, but had been declined. This was the first time that

[1] Theobald Wolfe Tone (1763–1798). Called to the Bar 1789. Sentenced to death by a Court Martial. Committed suicide the 19th November, 1798.

[2] Edward John Lewens (1756–1828), an attorney by profession. At the Union he was banished from Ireland, and taking up his residence in France ultimately became inspector of studies at Paris University.

overtures had been made to the Great Nation, for it was foreseen that there was a likelihood of the allies turning conquerors, once they landed. The Junta (Directory) of the United Irishmen now consisted of Lord Edward FitzGerald,[1] the military chief—who also paid a flying visit to the Continent with reference to the proposed assistance of the French—O'Connor,[2] Emmet,[3] McNeven,[4] and Bond.[5] Their enthusiasm for the cause they had so much at heart was scarcely exceeded, if at all, by Wolfe Tone himself. After considerable delay an expedition was fitted out, and 14,000 men and an armament of seventeen sail-

[1] Lord Edward FitzGerald (1763–1798), son of the first Duke of Leinster. M.P. for Athy 1783–1790, for Co. Kildare 1790–1797. He married Pamela, daughter of Egalité, Duke of Orleans, and Madame de Genlis.

[2] Arthur O'Connor (1763–1852), M.P. for Philipstown 1791–1795. Tried for high treason 1798, acquitted. Fox, Grattan, Sheridan, Erskine, Whitbread, Lord Thanet and Lord John Russell (afterwards Duke of Bedford) testified to his loyalty. O'Connor was again arrested, and imprisoned at Fort George, 1799–1803. He afterwards entered the French army, rising to the rank of Lieutenant-General. He married the only daughter of Condorcet, the celebrated French philosopher.

[3] Thomas Addis Emmet (1764–1827). Called to the Bar but did not practise. Arrested 1798. Confined in Fort George 1799–1802. In 1804 he went to New York, where he became Attorney-General of the State of New York.

[4] William James McNeven (1763–1841), physician. He visited the Continent on behalf of the United Irish cause. Arrested 1798; was imprisoned at Fort George after giving evidence before the Committee of the House of Lords. On his release he entered the French army, but shortly afterwards went to America. He prepared an elaborate report on the state of Ireland which was transmitted to the French Government.

[5] Oliver Bond (1758–1798), woollen draper of Dublin. He was arrested on the 12th March, 1798; tried for high treason and found guilty; died in prison the 6th September, 1798.

of-the-line, thirteen frigates, and thirteen smaller vessels left on the 15th December, 1796, under the military command of Hoche.[1] What was fondly hoped to be a master stroke against England proved absolutely abortive, for Bonaparte's great rival did nothing but lose several ships and make the name of Bantry Bay for ever famous.[2] Napoleon afterwards gave it as his opinion that Hoche's army, once disembarked on Irish soil, would have been successful.[3]

Had there been no rebellion in '98 it would be easy to infer from the half-heartedness of the French Government and the failure of a complete and definite understanding with the United Irishmen that neither of the parties took the matter seriously. Why Bantry Bay should have been chosen as a rendezvous is not quite clear from a military standpoint, as the peasants in the south and west of Ireland were comparatively lukewarm to those of the north, and it was necessary to strike a heavy blow at English supremacy on landing, *pour encourager les autres.* Miles Byrne confesses that in the south " the United Irish system was scarcely known there at that time," although " the people everywhere sighed for that equality of civil and religious liberty so long refused to them." But no amount of sighs will break fetters. If the evidence of

[1] Lazare Hoche (1768–1797). Having successfully pacified La Vendée and Brittany, and proved triumphant at Quiberon, he was appointed to the above command. His victories over the Austrians in the spring of 1797 were only arrested by the Peace of Leoben, 19th April, 1797.

[2] A detailed account of this expedition will be found in the authors' *Napoleon and the Invasion of England,* Vol. I., pp. 5–23.

[3] Creasy's *Invasions of England,* Vol. II., p. 209.

the *London Gazette* [1] is to be relied upon, the country people in that part of Ireland, far from being well-disposed towards the French, facilitated the march of the yeomanry and volunteer corps, cleared the roads of snow, shared their humble provender with them, and showed intense loyalty. "In short," says Lord Camden, the Lord-Lieutenant, "the general good disposition of the people through the south and west was so prevalent that had the enemy landed their hope of assistance from the inhabitants would have been totally disappointed. From the armed yeomanry government derived the most honorable assistance." [2]

Charles Hamilton Teeling,[3] at the time a state prisoner in Dublin, tells a different tale. "Hurry, confusion, and disorder, marked the advance of the army," he relates; "all was terror, doubt and dismay; troops disaffected, horses wanting, the munitions of war badly supplied, and even the bullet was unfitted to the calibre of the cannon, which a defective commissariat had supplied.[4] . . . But the elements protected the empire for Britain, and the country was preserved from the havoc of war. Hoche was separated from his troops by the winter's storm; and the army having no instructions to land in his absence, the expedition returned to the ports of France. This

[1] See issues of the 3rd and 7th January, 1797.

[2] *Ibid.*, 17th January, 1797.

[3] Charles Hamilton Teeling (1778–1850), brother of Bartholomew Teeling, a prominent rebel.

[4] "Nine-pound shot was provided for six-pound cannon."—Note by Teeling, p. 39.

was a most interesting period for Ireland—a single breeze might have rendered it the most eventful." [1]

In reality, two things conspired to thwart the ambitions of Hoche, the foul weather which separated the fleet, and the indecision of Grouchy,[2] who had 6,500 men under him when he reached Bantry Bay. Teeling's remark about "the army having no instructions to land" may be technically correct, but Admiral Bouvet, Grouchy, and the remaining officers certainly held a council of war and agreed to disembark the troops, a decision which the military commander, who was supreme once the vessels were at anchor, failed to carry out, partly because of Bouvet's half-hearted support.[3] The visit of an Irish peasant to one of the ships who volunteered the information that there were 20,000 troops in the neighbourhood of Bantry and that Lord Bridport's fleet was "off the Cape" was not encouraging.[4] If the entire French force of 14,000 men had set foot in Ireland and been supported by the second expedition which Hoche had urged the

[1] *History of the Irish Rebellion of* 1798: *a Personal Narrative.* By Charles Hamilton Teeling (Glasgow: Cameron and Ferguson), pp. 39–40. The book was first published in 1828.

[2] Emmanuel, Marquis de Grouchy (1766–1847), Marshal of France. For his services in connection with the pacification of La Vendée he was made General of division, 1793. Joined the Army of Italy under Joubert, 1798, and fought throughout the Napoleonic Wars. Created a peer, 1832. He is principally known to history as Napoleon's scapegoat at Waterloo.

[3] *Projets et Tentatives de Débarquement aux Îles Britanniques.* Par Édouard Desbrière. (Paris: R. Chapelot et Cie, 1902.) Vol. I., p. 200.

[4] *A Journal of the Movements of the French Fleet, in Bantry Bay, from their first Appearance to their final Departure;* Compiled from Notes taken on the spot, by Edward Morgan (Cork, 1797), p. 54.

Directory to equip, the independence of Ireland might have been accomplished, for the north would certainly have risen. The optimism of the Lord Lieutenant is not justified by figures, for when Grouchy was hesitating within sight of land there were but 3,000 or 4,000 men to oppose him from Cork to Bantry, but two pieces of artillery, and a total lack of ammunition and provisions.[1]

According to Morgan's account, "there could not have been more than 400 troops in the town of Bantry, 150 in Drumaleague, and about 1,200 in the town of Dunmanway, between which place and Bantry, half way, the intended stand was to have been made. This small army, when collected, might amount to 1,800 men. Allowing this force to be very inadequate to the desperate nature of the service for which it was intended, and that it was augmented by the troops in the towns of Bandon and Cloghnakilty, both of which places were near twenty miles from Drumaleague bridge, the entire force then would not amount to more than 4,000 men, of which about 800 were Cavalry. Allowing this number of troops collected, and that they arrived at the disputed bridge in time to make the necessary dispositions to oppose the progress of the enemy's march; they must have laboured under a disadvantage which, in the opinion of some military men, must have rendered their defeat certain and decisive;—it was no less than (almost) the total want of cannon. The only ordnance the troops could have brought to the ground, were two incon-

[1] *Auckland Correspondence*, Vol. III., p. 376.

siderable six-pounders, and which were never removed from the town of Dunmanway." [1] Even the British fleet was missing, and although Sir Edward Pellew,[2] with two or three frigates, had watched the enemy at Brest, their armament had reached Bantry before Admiral Colpoys,[3] his senior officer, was aware that his quarry had left port.

"It is quite fresh in my memory," Miles Byrne soliloquises, "and I shall never forget it, the mournful silence, the consternation of the poor people at the different chapels on Christmas Day and the following Sunday, after learning that the French had not landed, and that the French fleet had returned to France. Had Hoche been in command of his troops in the Bay of Bantry, instead of Grouchy, he would have landed them immediately, and from that moment the then English Government was shaken to its centre." [4]

In a proclamation which Hoche issued "To the French Army destined to Assist the Irish Revolution" the day before the expedition set sail, the commander insisted that they were going to people who were friends, "that we must treat them as such, and not as a conquered people." A march to London to teach Pitt a lesson was to be the master-stroke. Pitt ever seems to have been the *bête noire* of the French at this period. Making due allowance for the good intentions

[1] Morgan, pp. 22–23.

[2] Sir Edward Pellew (1757–1833). He was raised to the Peerage in 1814 as Baron Exmouth.

[3] Sir John Colpoys (*circa* 1742–1821), a prominent figure in the mutiny at Spithead, 1797.

[4] *Memoirs of Miles Byrne*. Edited by his widow (Dublin: 1907), Vol. I., p. 5.

GENERAL LAZARE HOCHE
From a contemporary portrait in the collection of Mr. A. M. Broadley

of "the pacificator of La Vendée," it is doubtful whether his Government would have allowed the Irish to manage their own affairs had the British yoke been thrown off. In all probability Ireland would have been made a base for French expeditions against "perfidious Albion." It was an age of international piracy. The Republic was not given to helping lame dogs over stiles without some ulterior object in view.

Hoche continued to cherish thoughts of another expedition, but within nine months of his return he was a dead man. The Dublin *Press*, a fiery newspaper of the revolutionary type, published the following eulogy : [1]

"Weep! Gallia weep! in sorrow droop thy head,
Thy Hoche, thy hero, and thy friend is dead;
That man so truly great in freedom's cause,
That brave defender of his country's laws;
Who, from her fields the Pitt-leagued tyrants chased,
And all the hordes of slaves that laid them waste;
Made the crown'd robbers of his native soil,
Shake on their blood-stain'd thrones and quit their spoil.
Now pale and breathless, lo! the hero lies,
As envious fate had call'd him to the skies,
But still unconquered, tho' resigned his breath,
He springs immortal from the arms of death;
O! friend of man, upon thy honoured bier,
The good and brave shall drop a grateful tear;
Bright fame, thy virtues from oblivion save,
And snatch thy honours from the silent grave,
From age to age thy glorious deeds impart,
And make thy monument each Patriot's heart."

[1] *Popular Songs, Illustrative of the French Invasions of Ireland.* Edited, with Introductions and notes, by T. Crofton Croker (London: The Percy Society, 1847), Parts III. and IV., p. 32 n.

The Irish military returns for 1797 show an increase of 18,655 regulars and fencibles, the militia remaining at the same figure as in the previous twelve months, and a vote was taken also for yeomanry, both horse and foot.[1] Reinforcements were slow in arriving, however, and for the reasons stated in the following dispatch[2] :

"Horse Guards 22d Apl, 1797.

"Sir,

"I have the honour to acquaint Your Majesty that Mr Dundas has just been with me by the desire of the Duke of Portland who is gone to attend Your Majesty at Windsor, to inform me that in consequence of the last dispatches from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Your Majesty's Ministers thought it absolutely necessary to recommend to Your Majesty that a reinforcement both of Cavalry and Infy should be sent to Ireland as speedily as possible.

"Under the present circumstances of the Troops in this Country, it would be impossible to spare any regular Cavalry, and as almost the whole of the Recruits of the Infantry of the Line are Irish it would be by no means a Politic Measure to send any of yr Regular Battalions to Ireland. I should therefore humbly propose to Your Majesty that the Force to be immediately sent should consist of two Fencible Regiments of Cavalry and Three of Infantry.

"Should Your Majesty approve of this Proposal I should recommend that the Romney and Ayrshire

[1] Fortescue, Vol. IV., Part 2, p. 938.
[2] Mr. Broadley's Georgian MSS.

should be the regiments of Fencible Cavalry for Ireland, both of whom have offered their Services, and that the Three regiments of Fencible Infantry should be the Dumbarton and Durham from Guernsey, and the Northumberland from Jersey. And in order not to diminish too much the Forces in these last Mentioned Islands, that the 61st Regt. should be sent from Poole to Guernsey, and the Loyal Irish Fencible Infantry from the Coast of Yorkshire to Jersey.

"I have the honor to be

"&c.

"(signed) FREDERICK.

"To The King."

CHAPTER II

THE REIGN OF MARTIAL LAW

When the people rebel the people are always right.
GOETHE.

FAR from forwarding the cause of Irish independence, the French attempt had an exactly opposite effect. Government took up a most arbitrary position, whereas it is quite possible that had concessions been granted the smoking flax might have been quenched.[1] The good behaviour of the peasants at Hoche's approach is sufficient evidence that the wish for a rising was by no means general. Martial law became the order of the day in several counties, and on the 13th March, 1797, Lieutenant-General Lake,[2] then commanding the Northern District, gave notice that he had "re-

[1] See particularly Philip Harwood's *History of the Irish Rebellion of* 1798 (London: 1848), pp. 121–123.

[2] Gerald Lake (1744–1808), first Viscount Lake of Delhi and Leswarree. Served in the Seven Years' War, 1760–1762, in North Carolina, and in Holland, 1793. His first experience in Ireland was as aide-de-camp to General Sir Richard Pierson, and in 1794 he was appointed Governor of Limerick. Commanded in Ulster, December, 1796–April, 1798. Commander-in-Chief from the 25th April, 1798, until the 20th June, 1798. Commander-in-Chief in India, 1800–1807 (with a brief interval), and as such defeated the Mahrattas, reduced Agra, took from Scindia all his possessions beyond the river Chumbul, and defeated Holkar.

ceived authority and directions to act in such manner as the public safety may require." This proclamation, half threat and half compromise, is so important as to warrant its reproduction in full:

"Belfast, March 13, 1797.

"WHEREAS the daring and horrid outrages in many parts of this province, evidently perpetrated with a view to supersede the laws and the administration of justice by an organised system of murder and robbery, have increased to such an alarming degree, as from their atrocity and extent to bid defiance to the civil power, and to endanger the lives and properties of his Majesty's faithful subjects; and whereas, the better to effect their traitorous purposes, several persons who have been enrolled under the authority of his Majesty's commission, and others, have been forcibly and traitorously deprived of their arms; it is therefore become indispensably necessary for the safety and protection of the well-disposed to interpose the King's troops under my command: and I do hereby give notice that I have received authority and directions to act in such manner as the public safety may require. I do therefore hereby enjoin and require all persons in this district (peace officers and those serving in a military capacity excepted), forthwith to bring in and surrender up all arms and ammunition which they may have in their possession to the officer commanding the King's troops in their neighbourhood.

"I trust that an immediate compliance with this

order may render any act of mine to enforce it unnecessary.

"Let the people seriously reflect, before it is too late, on the ruin into which they are rushing; let them reflect upon their present prosperity, and the miseries in which they will inevitably be involved by persisting in acts of positive rebellion; let them instantly, by surrendering up their arms, and by restoring those traitorously taken from the King's forces, rescue themselves from the severity of military authority. Let all the loyal and well-intentioned act together with energy and spirit in enforcing subordination to the laws, and restoring tranquillity in their respective neighbourhoods, and they may be assured of protection and support from me.

"And I do hereby invite all persons who are enabled to give information touching arms or ammunition which may be concealed, immediately to communicate the same to the several officers commanding his Majesty's forces in their respective districts; and, for their encouragement and reward, I do hereby promise and engage that strict and inviolate secresy shall be observed with respect to all persons who shall make such communication, and that every person who shall make it shall receive a reward the full value of all such arms and ammunition as shall be seized in consequence thereof.

"G. LAKE, *Lieutenant-General*
"*Commanding the Northern District.*"

Two months later even more decisive measures were taken. A proclamation issued on the 17th May offering

a general amnesty to all who would surrender and deliver up their arms on or before the 24th June was followed by an order which virtually handed over the country to the whims of the soldiery:

"Adjutant-General's Office, 18th May, 1797.

"In obedience to an order of the Lord-Lieutenant in Council, it is the Commander-in-Chief's commands that the military do act without waiting for directions from the civil magistrate in dispersing any tumultuous or unlawful assemblies of persons threatening the peace of the realm and the safety of the lives and property of his Majesty's loyal subjects wheresoever collected."[1]

This was a terrible weapon to put in the hands of the military. Lake succeeded in collecting no fewer than 29,583 firelocks, pikes, etc., in Ulster and Leinster alone.[2] The United Irishmen, intimidated but still undaunted, pursued the uneven tenor of their ways, mapped out the land, collected statistics likely to be of service, and made covert preparations for a coming *finale*. "It is evident," we are told in the *Memoirs of Lord Edward FitzGerald*,[3] "that there was still arms enough in their possession to give them confidence in their own strength, as their first impulse was to rise and employ them against their despoilers." Miles Byrne says that "United Irishmen were made by thousands daily,"[4] and although this is probably an exaggera-

[1] *Diary of Sir John Moore*. Edited by Major-General Sir J. F. Maurice, K.C.B. (London: 1904), Vol. I., p. 285.

[2] *Report of the Secret Committee*, Appendix, No. XXXIX., p. 298.

[3] p. 239.

[4] *Memoirs of Miles Byrne*, Vol. I., p. 6.

tion, it is certain that the number of recruits was rapidly growing.

It is no good disguising the patent fact that, in the words of Alison, these threats " failed in producing any pacification." He mentions the proclamation of the 17th of May, but does not refer to the order issued on the following day. " In effect," he adds, " the search for arms was productive of the very worst results, and contributed more than any other circumstance to spread hatred at the English rule in the whole island. The regular military force being so small, it was only by the militia and yeomanry that the search could in general be made ; and it was just setting one portion of the population, in the highest state of exasperation, to lord it over the other. The living at free quarters, and the domiciliary visits in search of arms, conducted by these zealous but over-excited and disorderly bands, were too often executed with an amount of harshness and cruelty which awakened an uncontrollable thirst for vengeance.[1] Above all, the custom, which soon became too common, of inflicting military flogging in order to compel the disclosure and surrender of arms, excited universally the most indignant feelings, and has more than any other circumstance fixed hatred at the British Government in Ireland." [2]

[1] Both Lake and Knox advocated the burning of houses.—See *A History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*. By William Edward Hartpole Lecky (London : ed. 1892), Vol. IV., p. 203.

[2] *Lives of Lord Castlereagh and Sir Charles Stewart*. By Sir Archibald Alison, Bart. (Edinburgh : William Blackwood and Sons, 1861), Vol. I., p. 46.

The yeomanry had been embodied as the result of a proposal made by Government towards the end of 1796. In the *Report from the Committee of Secrecy* it is observed " with great satisfaction, that the estimate for the yeomanry as first laid before Parliament was for a number not exceeding 20,000 men—that in the course of six months above 37,000 were arrayed ; and that the zeal of the country had so risen with its difficulties, that during the late rebellion, the yeomanry force exceeded 50,000 men, and might have been increased to a much greater extent. It is unnecessary to recal to the recollection and gratitude of parliament and of the country, the services they have performed during the unhappy struggle in which we have been engaged ; sharing all the hardships and dangers, and performing all the duties in common with the King's regular and militia forces." [1] As a general rule each company consisted of about fifty men, the majority of them cavalry, with a captain and two lieutenants. Those mounted on horses were provided with a pistol and a sword, sometimes a carbine, the infantry having weapons similar to those of the regular troops.[2] The following letters from Lord Mount Norris show that while he did not anticipate that Wexford was to raise the biggest crop of sedition, he was particularly anxious that his corps should be fully equal to any emergency that might arise :

[1] *Report from the Committee of Secrecy.* Reported by the Rt. Hon. Lord Viscount Castlereagh, Martis 21° die Augusti, 1798, p. 5.

[2] *History of the Rebellion in Ireland in the Year 1798, etc.* By the Rev. James Gordon (Dublin : 1801), pp. 62–63.

[Undated.]

" I have received your letter, and should be very sorry, my Dear Sir, to be of your opinion relative to the County of Wexford, where I do really believe the baneful Spirit of Defenderism had made some Progress, but not to that Degree you suppose. I never will suffer so narrow an Idea to warp my Mind ' that the Mass of the People have been corrupted,' for as a Christian I never can permit Suspicion to amount in my Breast to the Evidence of positive Fact, for I have no right to judge any man, nor to put the worst Construction on every man's actions, as that would argue a Distrust of all the World ! What a melancholy pitiful Predicament should we find ourselves in, were we to be cramped with Doubts of the Sincerity of every man's Sentiments and conduct ! Was I even to sport a Solicism on this occasion, nothing should induce me to forgo the Idea ! The Army are ready and every thing shall be prepared to prevent Delay in Dublin. As I shall be anxious to consult, on this and every future occasion, the Convenience of our Corps, you will have the Goodness to apprize Chillingworth two days before you set out, as he will have two Cars sent to Town for oats, and they can bring back the Arms. I have got so great an Inflamation in my left Eye, that I can scarcely see to add that I am, My dear Sir,

" Your's faithfully,

" Mt NORRIS."

" Write to me on receipt of this.

[" Address : Lieut^t^ Smyth,[1]
Camolin Cavalry, Ballyduff."]

[1] In the Detail Book the name is invariably spelt " Smith."

" Dear Sir, " March 9th, 1797.

" I thank you for your letter. The Disappointment about the Belts has been great to me, and the sad Illness with which I have been afflicted of late, has vexed me, having prevented my return to my Corps, at which I have been not a little vexed. I am glad to find that Peter Crannel is entered, and I beg he may [be] attested, as it is a proper form to go thro'. It is a pleasing Circumstance, to have Tennants and Neighbours of respectability in our Volunteer Association, in our common Cause. The Helmets may be given out whenever Lt Bookey and you shall think proper. I only deferred the giving them out 'till I went down to the Country. You will please to give Crannel his, and also to reserve one for the other Person you wish to come into our Troop, who you wd not recommend to my Protection, did you not think him worthy of it. I have written this letter with a good deal of Pain, as I am slowly recovering from a Pleuresy, which was very violent.

" I am, My dear sir,

" very faithfully Yrs,

" Mt Norris."

[Address: " Dublin March nine, 1797. Lieutt Smyth, Camolin Cavalry, Ballyduff, Gorey.—Mount Norris."]

" Dear Sir, " March 16th, 1797.

" You could not have introduced two young men into our Corps, of better Character than young Crannel and young Bass, and when we can pick a very

few equally respectable, I shall be glad to have them substituted in the Room of those, who have been least diligent and attentive. I am recovering, tho' slowly. I long to be in the Country.

" I am, my dear Sir,

" faithfully Your's,

" Mt Norris.

" Give my Service to our brother Volunteers. Tell Jimmy Blake that I have not time to write to-day, but shall by next Post."

[Address : " Dublin March Sixteen, 1797. Lt Smyth, Ballyduff, Gorey.—Mount Norris."]

Dublin, March 20, 1797.

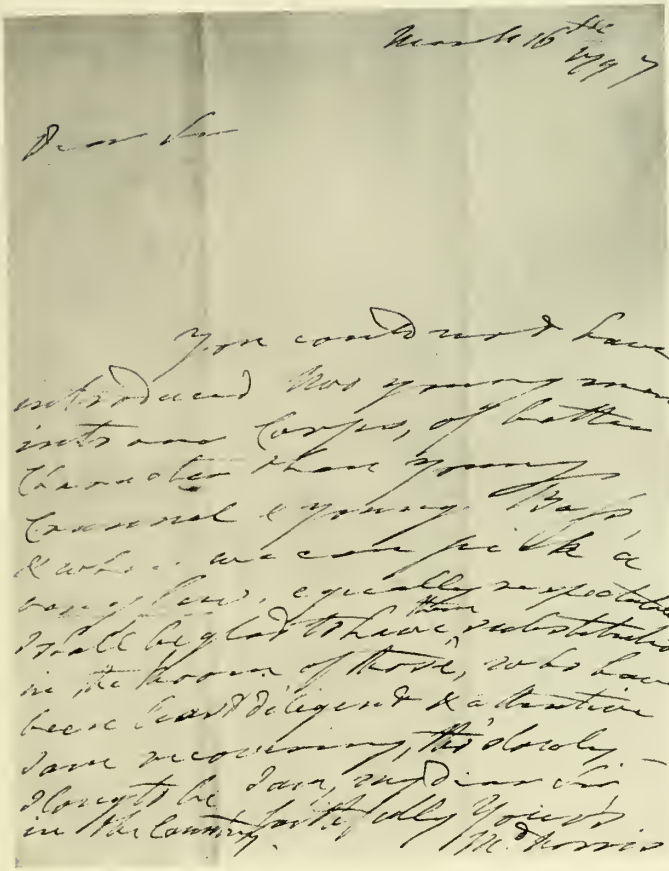
" Dear Sir,

" I thank you much for your letter, and for the requisition which young Brownrigg of Ballywater, young Crannel, and young Bass must be to any Corps. Lt Bookey and you will consult who ought to be struck out of the Roll, to make room for them. Messrs Clifford and Barrington, for non attendance, should be struck off the Roll, and I think that Carty can best be spared next to them. I will again write to George Sparks, who I trust will give due attendance, for unless our Corps do appear on Duty, they are doing an Injury, instead of rendering a Service to me and to my Friends. I hope to be able to attend Parade on Sunday, God willing.

" I am, Dear Sir,

" Your's faithfully,

" Mount Norris.



FACSIMILE OF ONE OF THE MOUNT NORRIS LETTERS

[Address: "Dublin March Twenty one, 1797. Lt Smyth, Camolin Cavalry, Ballyduff, Ballycanon, Gorey. —Mount Norris."]

"Dear Sir, March 28th, 1797.

"Even if I had not had a Relapse, I should have been tempted to wait a few days for Sir F. Flood,[1] with whom I am to set off, God willing, for my Troop on Thursday. Surely my young friend Fitz Henry cannot think of quitting our Volunteer Corps at this time, when we are upon the Eve, I may say, of being inspected, and when his appearance, as one of our Body, is so much to be desired. If this should be the Case, I am sure that he will not *desert his Friends at so critical a Juncture, when the Honor of the Yeoman is at stake.* I thank you for getting young Brownrigg, Cranmel and Bass enrolled. There is nothing new in Town, but we are impatient for good Accounts from the British Fleets.[2]

"I am, Dear Sir,

"Your's faithfully,

"Mount Norris.

[Address: "Dublin March Twenty Eight, 1797. Lt Smyth, Ballyduff, Ballycanon, Gorey.—Mount Norris."]

[1] Sir Frederick Flood (1741–1824); M.P. for Co. Wexford 1776; created a baronet 1780; M.P. for Wexford in Imperial Parliament 1800–1818. He took a prominent part in the Volunteer movement, and vigorously opposed the Union.

[2] The invasion of Wales by Hoche's Black Legion under Colonel Tate, on the 22nd February, 1797, was still "the talk of the town," and other attempts were thought imminent. For a full account of this expedition of jail-birds see *Napoleon and the Invasion of*

In addition to the yeomanry corps there was the militia, made up of raw recruits for the most part, the term of enlistment having expired at a most unpropitious and unfortunate time, with the inevitable result that there was more than a suggestion of the ranks being tainted by sedition. All sorts and conditions of men were to be met with in this body, and as the majority of the militia were Roman Catholics and their officers Protestants who had "so little sense or prudence as not to conceal their prejudices,"[1] the internal condition of some of the regiments may be imagined. Insubordination was almost as general as falling leaves in autumn. The rebels were frequently recruited by deserters from the militia, and they certainly looked forward to the day when, augmented by their diffident French allies, that body would cede and become definitely attached to the Irish revolutionary cause.

The troops under Lord Carhampton and General Lake lost all restraint, ran amok, plundered and pillaged, and put men, women, and children to the sword. The former officer resigned in November, 1797, and was succeeded by Sir Ralph Abercromby.[2] "That

England, Vol. I., pp. 31–73. The British navy gave a good account of itself during the year. On the 14th February the fleet under Admiral Sir John Jervis won a magnificent victory over the Spanish fleet off St. Vincent, and on the 11th October the Dutch fleet was crippled off Camperdown by Admiral Duncan. See *post*, p. 64.

[1] *Diary of Sir John Moore*, Vol. I., p. 275.

[2] Sir Ralph Abercromby (1734–1801), K.B. 1795; Lieutenant-General 1797. Served with the Duke of York in Holland; commanded the Egyptian expedition 1801. Defeated the French at Aboukir, the 8th March, 1801, and at Alexandria, the 21st inst., when he was mortally wounded.

fierce light which beats upon a throne" is as nothing compared to the searching rays which have been flooded upon the future hero of Aboukir and his policy in Ireland. To some historians he is a military Fitzwilliam, and would have been the saviour of the country; to others, including Froude, he is scarcely more than a rebel in royalist clothing. But is Froude correct when he asserts that Abercromby was "entirely ignorant of Ireland"?[1] Hay flatly contradicts the assertion by stating that, "having been quartered in Ireland, through most of his gradations of well-merited promotion, he possessed a perfect local knowledge of the country."[2] In this he is supported by Lecky, who says: "He knew Ireland well, having been quartered there before the outbreak of the war of the American Revolution, and having remained there during the whole period of its continuance."[3] We know from Abercromby's letters to his son that he made a personal inspection of the districts which had been proclaimed, and far from seeing eye to eye with Camden, found few places where the slightest signs of disturbance were evident. Froude makes much capital out of the fact that he "forbade the soldiers to act anywhere under any circumstances in suppressing riots, arresting criminals, or in any other function, without the presence and authority of a magistrate."[4] In other words, he disobeyed the order of the 18th

[1] Froude, Vol. III., p. 352.

[2] *History of the Insurrection of the County of Wexford, A.D. 1798.* By Edward Hay, Esq. (Dublin: 1803), p. 43.

[3] Lecky, Vol. IV., p. 197.

[4] Froude, Vol. III., p. 352.

May, which order, in Gordon's opinion, was "a temporary violation of the political constitution for its ultimate safety." [1] This is merely a polite way of saying that it was illegal, and we think his judgment a just one. Abercromby certainly restrained his troops in this as in other matters. "Sir Ralph told me," says Moore, "that the proclamation and order in consequence of it, formerly issued in Lord Carhampton's time, had never been acted upon [*i.e.* by Abercromby]; but a special order and Act of indemnity and pardon having since passed, they were considered as thereby annulled. In one instance only since his arrival at a place in the north had an officer acted without a magistrate, and he was immediately stopt." [2] While we cannot condemn Froude for not having knowledge of this particular document, there is one from Camden to Abercromby dated the 15th March, 1798, in which the former says, "You have had the candour to acknowledge that you did not consider the proclamation of May 18 as then in force," [3] which he ignores.

Froude further remarks that "In issuing an order in direct contradiction of the Lord-Lieutenant, Sir Ralph Abercrombie was himself setting a most signal example of the insubordination which he condemned; and had he been as right essentially as he was utterly wrong and headstrong, his manner of proceeding would have been without excuse." [4] He then pro-

[1] Gordon, p. 25.
[2] *Diary of Sir John Moore*, pp. 286–287.
[3] Dunfermline's *Abercromby*, p. 101.
[4] Froude, Vol. III., p. 353.

ceeds to tell us that Camden, without saying a word to Abercromby or to the Cabinet, renewed his own instructions. The command of the Lord-Lieutenant being supreme in military, as in other matters, he presumably had a right to do so, but it was an unjust procedure from Abercromby's point of view and left him in a very unhappy position. It is evident from Camden's reply to Portland when the latter got to hear of the affair, that the Viceroy did not wish to stir up strife. " He had therefore passed it over and explained it away, and in Ireland it was already forgotten." [1] Then why did the home Government raise the question so persistently? Ireland and Camden being satisfied, England should have ceased to probe the wound.

Lecky shows us the other side of the shield, and points out that Abercromby not only accepted the command with great reluctance, but wrote to England " that he understood that, with the exception of the patronage, the army was to be totally under his command; and that he must come to a clear understanding on this point, as a command divided between himself and the Lord-Lieutenant was entirely incompatible with good administration; while Camden wrote confidentially that Abercromby was not easy to get on with, and very peremptory about managing military matters himself." [2] The historian also admits that, while many of the outrages were " mere isolated

[1] Froude, Vol. III., p. 354.

[2] Dalrymple to Pelham, 19th Nov.; Knox to Pelham, 29th Nov.; Abercromby to Elliot, 25th Dec.; Camden to Pelham, 26th Dec., 1797.—Lecky, Vol. IV., p. 198.

acts of drunken or half-disciplined soldiers . . . a large class, of which the burning of houses formed the most conspicuous example, were illegal acts of violence deliberately carried out in places where murders had been committed or where arms had been concealed, and deliberately screened by men in authority from the intervention of the law courts." [1] Abercromby's famous general orders enjoining all commanding officers " to compel from all officers under their command the strictest and most unremitting attention to the discipline, good order, and conduct of their men, such as may restore the high and distinguished reputation the British troops have been accustomed to enjoy in every part of the world," are noticed elsewhere.[2] Lecky says that these orders were " certainly not uncalled for by the circumstances of the case," [3] and quotes part of Pelham's defence in Parliament, which Froude ignores. The same authority goes further by drawing our attention to the various unscrupulous methods of the cabal against the man whom Clare [4] called " this Scotch beast." [5] He thinks that Abercromby " greatly underrated the extent of the conspiracy, and the real imminence of the danger," [6] but of the honest purpose of the Commander he has no

[1] Lecky, Vol. IV., pp. 201–202.

[2] See *post*, p. 301.

[3] Lecky, Vol. IV., p. 204.

[4] John Fitzgibbon (1749–1802), Baron Fitzgibbon 1789; Earl of Clare 1795; Lord Fitzgibbon in England 1799; Attorney-General in Ireland 1783; Irish Chancellor 1789–1802.

[5] *Auckland Correspondence*, Vol. III., pp. 393–397 (quoted by Lecky, Vol. IV., p. 207).

[6] Lecky, Vol. IV., p. 213.

JOHN FITZGIBBON, EARL OF CLARE
From the collection of Mr. A. M. Broadley

doubt. Lecky thus concludes: "Abercromby is nearly the last figure of any real interest that, in the eighteenth century, flitted across the troubled scene of Irish politics. He left Ireland towards the end of April, just a month before the rebellion broke out, and he was replaced by Lake, who, more, perhaps, than any other military man, was associated with the abuses which Abercromby had tried to check. The reign of simple force was established beyond dispute, and the men whose policy had driven Lord Fitzwilliam from Ireland, and Grattan from Parliament, were now omnipotent." [1] Froude gives us a different epitaph: "He [Abercromby] seemed to have come to Ireland to effect the utmost extremity of mischief which his opportunities allowed him." [2]

There can be little doubt that Camden was disappointed in the promotion of Abercromby to the post of Commander-in-Chief. He had hoped, with some reason, that Cornwallis [3] would have occupied the position. Writing to the latter on the 23rd May, 1797, urging him to do so, he says "that *that* patriotism would be still more extended if you could be prevailed upon to accept the Lord Lieutenancy of this kingdom." One must not infer that this was a mere passing pleasantry, but it is significant that Camden adds

[1] Lecky, Vol. IV., pp. 214–215.

[2] Froude, Vol. III., p. 375.

[3] Charles Mann (1738–1805), first Marquis and second Earl Cornwallis. Commanded in American War, forced to surrender 1781; Governor of Bengal 1786–1793; Viceroy and Commander-in-Chief in Ireland 1798–1801; negotiated Peace of Amiens 1801–1802; Governor-General of India, 1805.

that he understands that Cornwallis would on "no consideration" accept the post. "The commission which I hold," he goes on, "renders my name and assent necessary to the official forms of business. If I knew in what manner consistent with that commission to divest myself of that part of my duty, I should immediately adopt it, but if I am constrained to keep it, I beg to deliver over to your Lordship every military regulation, and to put that part of my office into your hands."[1] If Camden was willing to allow this to Cornwallis, why did he not extend the same favour to Abercromby? The question apparently admits of two answers: either he did not like the general, or he had not sufficient reliance on his military skill, in which case he should have raised a strong objection at Downing Street. Cornwallis was a more easy-going individual, and not so likely to dispute with "the king of the Castle"—in this case, of Dublin Castle. "For your private ear," Cornwallis tells Major-General Ross on the 30th March, 1798, "Abercromby is coming from Ireland. He has been exceedingly wrongheaded."[2] Wrongheaded in not making friends with Camden presumably, for we know that Cornwallis censured the behaviour of the troops himself when he came face to face with the problem.

Abercromby resigned the command when it was obvious that under the present system little could be done to calm the popular indignation or curb the lawlessness of the troops. According to Froude he "closed

[1] *Cornwallis Correspondence*, Vol. II., pp. 327–328.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 335.

a petulant defence of his conduct with an abrupt resignation." [1] In reality he surrendered his post and explicitly stated his reasons at the same time to the Duke of York, the Commander-in-Chief of the British Army. His alleged abruptness did not preclude him from continuing in his almost untenable position until his successor was appointed. "The loss of Abercromby," writes Elliot,[2] "will not easily be repaired."[3] We cannot but feel that Lord Holland's[4] remarks on this particular affair are just. "His recall," writes the champion of the Whigs, "was hailed as a triumph by the Orange faction; and they contrived about the same time to get rid of Mr. Secretary Pelham,[5] who, though somewhat timeserving, was a goodnatured and prudent man. Indeed, surrounded as they were with burning cottages, tortured backs, and frequent executions, they were yet full of their sneers at what they whimsically termed the 'clemency' of the Government, and the weak character of their Viceroy, Lord Camden." [6]

[1] Froude, Vol. III., p. 355.

[2] William Elliot (or Elliott), Under Secretary in Ireland 1797–1801; Chief Secretary 1806–1807.

[3] Elliot to Pelham, 3rd June, 1798.—Lecky, Vol. IV., p. 397.

[4] Henry Richard Vassall Fox (1773–1840), third Lord Holland. Lord Privy Seal 1806–7. He was nephew of Charles James Fox, and an ardent Whig and Napoleonic partisan.

[5] Rt. Hon. Thomas Pelham (1756–1826), Chief Secretary in Ireland 1783 and 1795, resigned the 2nd November, 1798, but remained Secretary of State for Ireland. Became second Earl of Chichester 1805.

[6] *Memoirs of the Whig Party during my Time*, Vol. I., p. 112. This book was not published until after Lord Holland's death.

CHAPTER III

THE OLIVE BRANCH IN WEXFORD

When they be bad, you shall no where meet with worse; if they be good, you can hardly find better.—GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS.

IN the autumn of 1797 it became evident that the general dissatisfaction of the Irish people had spread to Wexford. The discovery that a number of blacksmiths had been paying more attention to the manufacturing of pike-heads than to the more legitimate work of shoeing horses and mending vehicles was as disconcerting as it was unexpected. The county people began to fear for their safety, and at a meeting of magistrates held at Gorey on the 20th November, 1797, 16 out of 142 parishes were proclaimed.[1] Lord Mount Norris and seven other magistrates were in the minority, and wished to quell the turbulent Roman Catholics by more peaceful methods. Accompanied by several colleagues the former made a tour of the neighbouring chapels during the time of service and endeavoured to conciliate the congregations. We are therefore not inclined to agree with

[1] Hay (p. 52) gives this number, Musgrave (p. 320) states it as 19. Sir Richard Musgrave (*circa* 1757–1818), first baronet 1782; M.P. for Lismore 1778. Although so pro-English he opposed the Union.

Sir Richard Musgrave, although he was Lord Mount Norris's brother-in-law, that his lordship was persuaded " that the popish inhabitants and their priests were perfectly innocent." [1] Were this so there would have been no reason for the visits. On the contrary, Taylor states that the Earl, " like a true friend to his country, expostulated with them on the unreasonableness of their proceedings. His Lordship pointed out to them the happiness resulting from the constitution under which they lived ; that a man of any persuasion whatever, though his descent were ever so mean, who should advance himself by honest means in the world, and from nothing acquire abundance, would be protected by it, and that it was very wicked and ungrateful to attempt to destroy those protectors of our persons, rights and freedom ; that the laws of the realm protected the poorest cottager from the cruelties of a rich oppressor ; and that there was no such thing as wanton barbarity in our land. His lordship entreated them to surrender the weapons of their rebellion, and invited them to come in and take the oath of allegiance ; he proposed to give them certificates of the same, and hoped they would return to their duty. They all seemed to be convinced, and several of the neighbouring parishes accordingly assembled, headed by their respective priests, and his Lordship administered to them the oath." [2]

[1] Musgrave, p. 320.

[2] *A History of the Rise, Progress, and Suppression of the Rebellion in the County of Wexford in the Year 1798.* By George Taylor (ed. Dublin, 1829), p. 18.

Taylor was a staunch member of the Church of England,[1] and his narrative is based on personal knowledge and from information "received from gentlemen of the strictest veracity."[2] Hay, who was a Wexford man, and as intensely Roman Catholic as Taylor was loyalist, insinuates that Lord Mount Norris did not carry on his propaganda from purely patriotic motives. He remarks that the Earl "must be naturally supposed to feel substantial reasons for his opposition to have the part of the county proclaimed wherein his property principally lay; and it is to be fairly presumed, (whatever ground may be had by some reflecting people for thinking otherwise) that his lordship was not influenced on this occasion at least, by motives of opposition to Lord Ely,[3] his successful rival in the patronage of the county. Shortly after this meeting at Gorey," he adds, "I spent some days at Camolin Park, the seat of Lord Mount Norris, while he was soliciting the people, from parish to parish, to take the oath of allegiance. His lordship requested I would use what influence I might possess with the priests in my neighbourhood, to induce them and their flocks to join in this general test of loyalty, in order, as he said, to put the catholic interest in the county of Wexford on the most respectable footing;

[1] *A History of the Rise, Progress, and Suppression of the Rebellion in the County of Wexford in the Year 1798.* By George Taylor (ed. Dublin: 1829), p. 177.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. v.

[3] Charles, first Earl of Ely of the second creation (1738–1806). M.P. for Clonmines; Teller of the Exchequer 1777–1793; Joint Paymaster-General in Ireland 1789–1806; created Lord Loftus in England 1801.

suggesting at the same time, that from his '*great consequence and influence, his representation of facts must counteract and outweigh the misrepresentations of others.*' He also showed me the oaths he usually administered on these occasions, and which he stated himself to have improved from time to time by several alterations: he produced one, in particular, which he conceived to be wrought up to the highest perfection of loyalty. Although I agreed with his lordship so far as really to think the county was then in a state of perfect peace and tranquillity, (and therefore thought this overweening parade unnecessary) yet I never believed him, notwithstanding all his lordship's strong professions to that effect, a sincere friend to catholics: I was rather strongly of opinion, that he affected a shew of concern for their interests, at this critical period, in mere opposition to the noble lord his competitor for influence.

" I therefore took the most civil means in my power of declining the interference to which his lordship would have directed my exertions. Lord Mount Norris, however, was not singular in courting catholic popularity at that time, for all the newspapers of the day teemed with addresses from the catholics throughout the island, published, not at the desire or at the expence of the subscribers, but by the political manœuvrers who took the trouble of procuring them, to answer their private purposes, by playing them off against the schemes of other opponents." [1]

In the *Authentic Detail of the Extravagant and In-*

[1] Hay, pp. 52–53.

consistent Conduct of Sir Richard Musgrave, Baronet; with a full Refutation of his Slander against "Edward Hay," which is printed as an appendix to the latter's *History of the Insurrection*, the author gives Lord Mount Norris credit for having been "remarkably active in suppressing the rebellion—[he] possessed a greater landed property than any other person in the county of Wexford, is a governor of that county, and a privy-counsellor of Ireland."[1] If historians had a special gift which enabled them to peer into the secret motives of a man's heart we should be able to refute or corroborate the above statements, but there is certainly nothing in the Mount Norris Correspondence which leads us to believe that the writer of the letters was a man whose only concern was for the safety of his own personal property. We presume that patriotism, like charity, begins at home, but true patriotism, unlike false charity, does not stay there. The documents are singularly clear of references to any damage the Earl may have suffered, although he was particularly intimate with Lieutenant Smyth, to whom most of them are addressed. We are by no means satisfied with Hay's cynical opinion that Lord Mount Norris "affected a shew of concern" in the interests of the Catholics. A martinet if you will, but intensely loyal by nature, the Earl was sufficiently a statesman to make pacific overtures before resorting to less humane measures. That many of the Catholics saw fit to dissemble after they had sworn allegiance at his instigation is a crime which cannot be laid at the door of the

[1] p. 15.

man who administered the oath. There is no gainsaying the fact that the nobleman was himself deceived, and unwittingly misled others, as to the loyalty or peaceable intentions of the Romanists of Wexford. This is fully borne out by Gordon, whom Lecky describes as "the most truthful and temperate of the loyalist historians."[1] The same authority even suggests that Lord Mount Norris's satisfactory reports had not a little to do with the defenceless condition of the county when the rebellion broke out.[2]

On the other hand, it is perfectly evident that he was no milksop. In a curious little volume entitled *The Principles of Peace, Exemplified in the Conduct of the Society of Friends in Ireland, during the Rebellion of the Year 1798*,[3] the author, Dr. Thomas Hancock,[4] relates an occurrence which can only refer to his lordship:

"A party of militia," he writes, "being stationed at Ferns, the Earl of M——, who commanded, came to this Friend, and desired he would give up part of his house, which was then used as a store, for a guardhouse for the soldiers. The requisition being sudden, the Friend was put to a stand what he should answer; and, although he might have refused it on the ground of its being occupied as a store, yet, knowing that this inconvenience could be obviated, he was not easy to cloak the real cause of objection with any disguise or

[1] Lecky, Vol. IV., p. 353.

[2] Gordon, p. 87.

[3] Thomas Hancock (1783–1849), M.D. of Edinburgh.

[4] Second ed., London, William Phillips, 1826. The first edition was published in the previous year.

subterfuge. Considering, therefore, that this was a fit opportunity to lift up the standard of Peace and to bear his testimony against War, he honestly told the commander 'that the apartment he requested was occupied as a store-room,—but besides, that the purposes for which it was wanted, were such as he could not unite with, having a conscientious scruple against War, and every thing connected with it.' Upon this, the Earl of M—— grew very angry, and desired the soldiers who were with him to afford the Friend no protection, in case any disturbance should arise. To this observation, the latter replied, that 'he hoped he should not trust to, or apply for, military protection.' The commander went away greatly displeased, and seemed to mark out this Friend as a disaffected person; indeed, he did not know how soon a prison might be his lot; especially as one of the militia-men, who was quartered at his house for many weeks, being entertained at free cost, propagated many false reports of him, with respect to political matters; so that his situation became increasingly perilous." [1]

It is interesting to know that the Quaker in question was not visited by the dire pains and penalties he contemplated.

An address signed by a number of priests and their parishioners, dated 26th November, 1797, appealed to the Earl "as our neighbour, as a magistrate, and as a

[1] *The Principles of Peace, Exemplified in the Conduct of the Society of Friends in Ireland, during the Rebellion of the Year 1798*, pp. 56–57. Second ed., London, William Phillips, 1826.

friend to humanity, to receive our oaths of allegiance, and to assure his Excellency, the Earl of Camden, that we are as firmly attached to the constitution, as any other members of the community, whatever our enemies may insinuate to the contrary." The recipient was also asked to " accept of our tribute of gratitude " for his opposition at the meeting held a few days before, and to convey " our acknowledgments to the seven other magistrates, who so liberally stepped forward, to justify us from an imputation which we reprobate as unprovoked and unmerited."

In all good faith, Lord Mount Norris and his colleagues administered the oath to Fathers Nicholas Redmond, Nicholas Synnott, Francis Kavenagh, John Murphy, Michael Lacy, David Cullen, Michael Murphy, John Redmond, Nicholas Stafford, and Edmond Redmond.[1] We shall see how some of these priests kept their vow as the narrative proceeds. Musgrave prints a copy of the oath used on this occasion. It runs as follows :

" I DO sincerely promise and swear, upon the Holy Evangelists, that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to his majesty King George the third, and to the succession of his illustrious family to the throne. That I will, to the utmost of my power, support the constitution as by law established. That I will use every possible exertion to prevent and suppress all tumult, riot, or secret conspiracy. That I am not an United Irishman, and that I never will take the oaths of the United men. That I will give up all kinds of

[1] Musgrave, Appendix No. XVII., pp. 79–80.

firearms, or offensive or defensive weapons, in my possession; and that I will inform against any man keeping arms without being registered. All the above I most solemnly swear, in the presence of the Almighty, and as I hope to be saved, through the merits and mediation of my blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, without any equivocation or mental reservation whatsoever. So help me God." [1]

Taylor makes the following statement: "The parish of Boulavogue refused at first to comply, as the oath was so strict; but Lord Mount Norris being displeased with their refusal, made use of some expressions, signifying, that if they would not be persuaded, and take the oath, he would have the country so strongly defended, by quartering military in it, that they should then demean themselves as peaceable subjects through fear, if they would not now do it for love. This alarmed them, and they also conformed with the other parishes." [2] This would certainly seem like a threat did we not know that Father John Murphy [3]

[1] Musgrave, Appendix No. XVII., p. 80.

[2] Taylor, pp. 18–19.

[3] The Rev. John Murphy, coadjutor-priest of Boulavogue, was the son of Thomas Murphy, a farmer at Tincurry, a parish of Ferns. He was educated at a hedge-school kept by a man named Gun, and afterwards studied in Seville University, where it is supposed he took his degree of Doctor of Divinity. Murphy returned to Ireland in 1785. "Father John was rather under than over the ordinary stature of his countrymen," Kavanagh (p. 97) tells us, "but broad-chested and strong-limbed, of remarkable activity as well as strength. His complexion was florid, his features rather handsome, but their beauty lay more in the expression than in the shape. His white forehead rose over bright blue eyes, which, though they usually beamed with a cheerful smile, could at times flash forth a glance that indicated the fiery and intrepid soul which

and his flock not only took the oath of allegiance, but on the 9th April, 1798, on behalf of himself and 757 inhabitants, signed an address to the Viceroy, which was duly presented by the Earl and Sir Thomas Esmond, "thus publickly to declare our unalterable attachment to his sacred Majesty King George the third; and we do hereby declare, and in the most solemn manner pledge ourselves, to support with our lives, fortunes and influence, his Majesty's happy government established amongst us, determined as we are to exert ourselves for the suppression of rebellion and sedition." Protestants were assured "of our sincere affection for them, and our absolute determination to co-operate with them in every means in our power, for the support of this happy constitution, the suppression of rebellion, the welfare of his Majesty's government, and in love and loyalty to his sacred person." [1]

According to Musgrave, the same address was also adopted by Father Michael Murphy of Ballycanew,[2]

in a just cause defies danger, and boldly confronts death itself. To personal advantages he united a most determined spirit, and a power, invaluable in a leader, of inspiring confidence into his followers." Father John must not be confused with a priest of the same name who acted as his aide-de-camp and was killed in the action at Kilcomney Hill (*see* Maxwell, p. 185).

[1] Musgrave, Appendix No. XVII., p. 81.

[2] Father Michael Murphy, curate of Ballycanew. He was born at Killnew, near Kilmuckridge, and was educated at a hedge-school on Oulart Hill. He displayed conspicuous ability, and was ordained in 1785 in the diocese of Ferns. Murphy afterwards entered the Irish College at Bordeaux, then under Abbé Glynn. Killed at the battle of Arklow, and interred in Castle Ellis churchyard.

and all the priests who had signed the letter of 26th November, 1797, with the exception of Fathers John Redmond and David Cullen.[1] Taylor, however, gives a different version of the declaration of loyalty made by Father Michael Murphy and the inhabitants of the parish of Ballycanew, which differs more in form than in substance from that noted above. It is dated the 1st April, 1798 : [2]

" May it please your Excellency,

" We, the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the parish of Ballycanow, in the county of Wexford, this day assembled at the chapel of Ballycanow, holding in abhorrence the barbarous outrages lately committed, and seditious conspiracies now existing in this kingdom, by traitors and rebels, styling themselves United Irishmen, think it incumbent on us, thus publicly to avow and declare, our unalterable attachment and loyalty to our most revered and beloved Sovereign, King George the Third, and our determined resolution to support and maintain his rights and our happy Constitution. And we do further pledge ourselves to co-operate with our Protestant brethren of this kingdom, in opposing to the utmost of our power any foreign or domestic enemy, who may dare to invade his Majesty's dominions, or disturb the peace and tranquillity of this country.

" Resolved, that the above declaration be signed by our pastor, the Rev. Michael Murphy, and a few of the principal parishioners ; and that the same be sent

[1] See *ante*, p. 55.

[2] Taylor, pp. 21–22.

to the Right Hon. Earl Mount Norris, with a request that his Lordship will transmit it to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant.

" Rev. Michael Murphy,
" *Coadjutor Priest.*"

[Here follow fourteen signatures.]

Had such fulsomeness been less common in addresses intended for official eyes in this century of laudatory utterances it is probable that suspicion would have been aroused, for the superlative often hides a multitude of sins. The Lord-Lieutenant replied through Lord Castlereagh [1] in a polite note to the Earl, dated Dublin Castle, 16th April, 1798, expressing " his entire reliance on the loyalty and zeal manifested by the persons who have subscribed it." Father Michael Murphy was duly informed, and the following covering note was also sent :

" Lord Mount Norris felt highly gratified by being employed to convey the address of the Catholic inhabitants of Ballycanow [2] to government, which was a striking test of their attachment to the constitution, and which from his perfect knowledge of their senti-

[1] Robert Stewart (1769–1822), Viscount Castlereagh. Keeper of the Privy Seal in Ireland 1797 ; Chief Secretary for Ireland 1799–1801 ; President of the Board of Control 1802–1805 ; Secretary for War and Colonies 1805–January, 1806, and from March, 1807, to September, 1809 ; Secretary for the Foreign Department 1812–1822. From February, 1797, until April, 1799, Lord Castlereagh acted as Secretary to the Viceroy, owing to Mr. Pelham's illness. On the death of his father in 1821 Lord Castlereagh succeeded him as the second Marquis of Londonderry.

[2] Ballycanew.

ments, as well as from the proof given by their oath of allegiance, he is convinced they are as anxious to support the constitution, as any other members of the community: should occasion require their aid, he means to call upon them, persuaded of their anxiety to preserve the public welfare.

"April 27th, 1798." [1]

The above documents go to prove the duplicity of the men who may well be called the master-minds of the rebellion on the side of the insurgents. The majority of the high ecclesiastical authorities of the Roman Catholic faith stood loyally by Government, and entreated the priests to do all in their power to suppress any disloyal tendencies that might manifest themselves in their flocks. Many of the prelates saw that a rebellion would be neither prevention nor cure for the ills of Ireland, and the sufferings of the Church in France augured ill should the friends of the Revolution set foot in the land of St. Patrick. Sermons were preached, pastoral charges delivered, and meetings convened for the purpose of dissuading would-be disturbers of the peace. But it is easier to counsel pacific measures than to bring them about, and no amount of theological theorising can stem the stream of human passion when the political volcano begins to rumble in real earnest. To encourage sedition openly in chapel was practically impossible, and was almost certain to reach official ears at Dublin. Misrepresentation was rife, nevertheless, and on one occasion the

[1] Taylor, p. 23.

Roman Catholic Bishop of Ossory[1] was obliged in self-defence to send the MS. copy of a sermon to Sir Charles Asgill[2] and the mayor of the town in which it had been read before they were convinced that it contained no references directly or indirectly against Government. According to the bishop, the fear of assassination prevented many of the priests from denouncing the propaganda of the United Irishmen.[3] Dr. Edward Dillon, Roman Catholic Bishop of Kilmacduagh and Kilfenora, issued a stirring address exhorting obedience, and warning the laity of his diocese of the wicked intentions of their potential allies, adding that " the wrath of Heaven could scarcely visit us with a more dreadful scourge." [4] The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin,[5] " in the present awful and alarming period," penned a similar document " to be distinctly read at each Mass " on the fatal Whit-Sunday of '98. The speculations of Tom Paine are anathematized and a sane patriotism invoked in the following terms :

" Let no one deceive you by wretched impracticable speculations on the rights of man and the majesty of the people, on the dignity and independence of the human mind, on the abstract duties of superiors, and

[1] John Lanigan (1758–1828), Irish ecclesiastical historian.

[2] Sir Charles Asgill (*circa* 1763–1823). Served in American War and in Flanders ; Staff-Brigadier in Ireland 1797 ; Major-General 1798 ; Commander of Dublin 1800 ; General 1814.

[3] *Castlereagh Correspondence*, Vol. I., pp. 160–162. Dated Ballyragget, 10th March, 1798.

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. I., pp. 172–176. Dated Kilcornan, 6th April, 1798.

[5] Most Rev. John Thomas Troy, D.D. (1739–1823), consecrated Archbishop of Dublin 1784.

exaggerated abuses of authority—fatal speculations, disastrous theories; not more subversive of social order and happiness, than destructive of every principle of the Christian religion. Look at the origin and progress of these detestable doctrines. Their atheistical authors, seeing the intimate connexion between religious and civic principles, beheld with the envious malignity of demons the mutual support they afforded to each other for the spiritual and temporal advantage of man; and, accordingly, prepared the dreadful career of anarchy, by the propagation (too successful, alas!) of impiety and licentiousness.

"We bitterly lament the fatal consequences of this anti-Christian conspiracy. But surely, my brethren, your known attachment to the principles of religion ought to have preserved you from the destroying influence of such complicated wickedness. Yes, dearest Catholics, it is to the benign principles of the Christian religion that we recal your serious attention at this important crisis. They will shield you from the evils which surround us. Submission to established authority and obedience to the laws are amongst the duties prescribed by religion; every violation of these duties is highly criminal. Wherefore, if any amongst you have been unfortunately seduced into a combination against the State, under any pretext whatsoever, you are bound in conscience to instantly withdraw yourselves from it, and by sincere repentance and future loyal conduct atone for your past sinful temerity. Without this sincere sorrow and promise of amendment, you cannot expect absolution in the

tribunal of penance, nor mercy from Government. Neither one nor the other is extended to impenitent sinners or offenders, without profanation or injustice.

"Resolve then, we beseech you, to deliver up your arms of every kind, without delay or reluctance, to those appointed to receive them. Unite with all your loyal and peaceable fellow-subjects to put down and crush the wicked spirit of insurrection, so disgraceful to the character of Irishmen.

"It has already produced the most horrid effects. Assassinations, murders, atrocities of every kind, have been committed. Lose not a moment to manifest your detestation of the principles and causes leading to such consequences. The shortest delay in complying with this religious duty will be justly considered as an indication of disloyalty; you will be considered as enemies to the State, and subjected to a sudden death, under the operation of martial law, already proclaimed. Your property, your very existence, are endangered by a suspicious or equivocal conduct. It must be open, candid, and decided in supporting Religion and the Constitution. . . ." [1]

In the calmer days of 1799, when declarations in favour of the Union were being made by counties and individuals, Dr. Edward Dillon complained to his *confrère* of Dublin that he was styled "an Orange Bishop, the tool of Government, well paid for my services, &c." because of the active part the Church was then taking in a purely political movement. "I am actually employed in performing a very painful

[1] *Castlereagh Correspondence*, Vol. I., pp. 209–211.

duty," he concludes, "visiting the parishes which have contracted the greatest weight of guilt during the late rebellion." [1]

We have purposely forestalled events in order to preserve the sequence of the religious aspects of the strife, and we must now retrace our steps a little. After Hoche's failure to land his substantial forces in the winter of 1796, Holland was requisitioned as an ally by the continental representatives of the United Irishmen with some success, but Duncan's victory off Camperdown on the 11th October, 1797, promptly put an end to the hopes of the disaffected Irish and of those who sought to revive the moribund sea power of the country which once sent a fleet to the Thames to threaten London. Shortly afterwards the French Directory decided to place an army at Bonaparte's disposal for the invasion of England, the subjugation of which would have snapped the slender ties, now almost strained to breaking point, between Ireland and the Motherland. After weighing the matter thoroughly and visiting the ports most serviceable for the purpose of embarkation, the embryo Emperor came to the conclusion that the time had not arrived for such an experiment. "If instead of the expedition to Egypt," he told Las Cases [2] at St. Helena, "I had undertaken that against Ireland, what could England

[1] *Castlereagh Correspondence,* Vol. II., pp. 347–348. Dated Cong, 9th July, 1799. Dr. Dillon was then Roman Catholic Archbishop of Tuam.

[2] Emmanuel Augustin Dieudonné Marie Joseph, Comte de Las Cases (1766–1842). He accompanied Napoleon to St. Helena, and wrote the celebrated *Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène.*

have done now ? On such chances do the destinies of empires depend." Napoleon turned his attentions to the dazzling East, saw visions of a vast dominion in Asia whose wealth and power would be summed up in his own person, and was as callous as regards the independence of Ireland as he was of that of Poland in the years which were to come. Lewens and Wolfe Tone interviewed him three times on the subject of the proposed attempt on the United Kingdom, but received no satisfaction.

Blissfully unaware that the so-called Army of England now massing on the coast of France was intended for any other place than its high-sounding name implied, the hopes of the Irish recalcitrants ran high. The Great Nation was sending succour at last ; it mattered little whether the troops travelled via London or Belfast so long as they came. The peasantry was being armed gradually, notwithstanding the depredations made from time to time by the soldiery under official instructions, bullets were cast in out-of-the-way places, and preparations made for the approaching *coup d'état*. The yeomanry was also getting ready for the civil war now thought to be inevitable in many quarters,[1] hence the following com-

[1] According to Fortescue (Vol. IV., Part 2, p. 939), the Irish Military Establishment in 1798 was made up of 39,620 regulars, 26,634 militia, and 37,539 yeomanry. Moore's figures, given in his *Diary* (Vol. I., p. 270), under date 8th December, 1797, represent the troops actually in the island, in fact the Irish Garrison, which was a very different thing, in time of war, from the Irish Establishment. They are as follows: "Regulars and Fencible Cavalry 5,805 ; Infantry 1,803 ; English and Scotch Fencible Infantry 10,993 ; Militia 21,590 ; English Artillery (two com-

munication from Lord Mount Norris to Lieutenant Smyth:

" March 3d, 1798

" Dear Smyth,

" I have written to our brother Officer, Bookey, about getting the Muskets, promised to me by you and him, put into proper order, and conveyed to Wexford, getting a Receipt for them from the Officer commanding there. I also wrote to him that a Lieutenant Guard of Thirty must come for them, by way of Escort, and that they should be the picked men of our Troop. Should the Expedition suit your's better than Bookey's Convenience, I would advise you to come up, as it may tend to advance your object, which I have much at Heart. I am,

" Dear Smyth,

" Your's faithfully,

" Mt Norris.

[Address: " Dublin March the Third, 1798. Lieut Smyth, Camolin Cavalry, Ballyduff, Gorey.—Mount Norris."]

The news of the arrest of Arthur O'Connor[1] and two of his comrades at Margate, where they were

panies) 200; Irish Artillery, about 1,400; Yeomanry, computed 35,000. Total 76,791, of which it is thought that from 18,000 to 20,000 are cavalry." The Irish Treasury provided pay for the Establishment. Nearly all the regular infantry were abroad.

[1] Arthur O'Connor was arrested on the 28th February, 1798, in company with Father James O'Coigly (1762–1798) and another individual. On his trial at Maidstone (21st May) he was acquitted, but rearrested and detained during the rebellion (see *ante*, p. 21 n.). In her *Diary* Madame D'Arblay gives us a glimpse of

endeavouring to obtain a vessel to take them to France, was an unexpected blow to the rebel cause. This was followed by the still more startling and important announcement of the arrest of the provincial committee of Leinster at the instigation of one of its members, who sold his principles and his friends for gold. Mention is made of the former event in the Mount Norris Correspondence in a letter which also holds out the hope of a probable cessation of hostilities between the Republic and Great Britain:

" Dublin, March 10th, 1798.

" Dear Smyth,

" I thank you much for having obtained, amongst our Friends, the quantity of Musquets necessary for compleating the number of Firelocks, to be given to Government for Carbines. The moment the Guns have been put into proper Order, I must request a party may escort them to Wexford, where they are to be lodged with the commanding officer, whose Receipt for same must be taken, and sent to me. As I should be extremely sorry to inconvenience my

the consternation at Court. She notes that the Queen's look " was serious and full of care, and, though perfectly gracious, none of her winning smiles brightened her countenance, and her voice was never cheerful. I have since known that the Irish conspiracy with France was just then discovered, and O'Connor that very morning taken. No wonder she should have felt a shock that pervaded her whole mind and manners! If we all are struck with horror at such developments of treason, danger, and guilt, what must they prove to the royal family, at whom they are regularly aimed? How my heart has ached for them in that horrid business!" (see *The Diary and Letters of Madame D'Arblay*, Warne, 1892, Vol. III., pp. 166–167).

brother Troopers in any particular, I will, for the Reasons you assign, postpone troubling a Party of them to come up to Town 'till after the assizes, which are to commence at Wicklow (where the Judges are allowed to stay a week) on the 19th. O'Connor's Capture and the Imprisonment of his vile Associates is likely to be productive of much useful Information. Peace is still talked of, and it is probably not far off, as the Directory begin to be jealous of Bonaparte's Power. The Town is very quiet, and the military are numerous and active. The frequent Assassinations we hear of, are melancholy Proofs of the many Miscreants who bid Defiance to the Laws.

" I beg you will believe me to be,
" My Dear Sir,
" Your's faithfully,
" Mt Norris.

[Address : " Dublin, March the Tenth, 1798. Lieut Smyth, Camolin Yeoman Cavalry, Ballyduff, Gorey. —Mount Norris."]

Writing in his diary under date of 26th March, 1798, Wolfe Tone, now Adjutant-General in the *Armée d'Angleterre*, is constrained to note that the arrest of the committee " is by far the most terrible blow which the cause of liberty in Ireland has yet sustained. I know not whether in the whole party it would be possible to replace the energy, talents, and integrity of which we are deprived by this most unfortunate of events. I have not received such a shock from all

LORD EDWARD FITZGERALD

that has passed since I left Ireland." [1] Four days later we find Lord Grenville,[2] Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, warning Lord Camden of the extreme urgency of legislative interference, " the present moment and circumstances in Ireland being certainly such as to require (if ever) the interposition of Parliament, to check by any constitutional exercise of its authority the progress of a rebellion, which is almost disputing for pre-eminence and superiority of power with the lawful government." [3]

Lord Edward FitzGerald succeeded in evading detection for some time, but eventually the authorities got to hear of his whereabouts in Thomas Street, Dublin. A desperate struggle ensued when Majors Sirr and Swan, together with Captain Ryan and eight soldiers, went to arrest the military chief of the United Irishmen on the 19th May, and blood was spilt on both sides, Captain Ryan receiving a wound which proved mortal. Lord Edward was conveyed to the Castle and afterwards to Newgate jail, where he died of fever on the 4th June, 1798, the consequence of a wound received in his right arm during the fray.[4] In Dublin the effect

[1] *The Autobiography of Theobald Wolfe Tone*, 1763–1798, Vol. II., p. 296.

[2] William Wyndham (1759–1834), Baron Grenville 1790; Chief Secretary of Ireland 1782–1783; Speaker of the English House of Commons 1789; Secretary of State for the Home Department 1789–1790; Foreign Secretary 1791–1801; First Lord of the Treasury 1806–1807.

[3] Dated Cleveland Row, 30th March, 1798.—*Castlereagh Correspondence*, Vol. I., p. 163.

[4] The Rt. Hon. George Wyndham, M.P., late Chief Secretary for Ireland, possesses a diamond pin, a sword-stick, and a seal engraved in Paris, which belonged to Lord Edward FitzGerald, his great-

was salutary. In several other districts the inhabitants laid down their arms, but the rising had already been fixed to begin on the night of the 23rd May, and desperate men are not easily repressed. Reports were spread far and wide that the French were getting ready, and that the troops would embark about the middle of April.[1] Here were incentive and inspiration, the silver lining of the cloud.

By a peculiar coincidence the magistrates of the county met at Wexford but a few hours before the rebel thunderbolt was to fall, and issued their final warning:

"NOTICE.—We, the high sheriff and magistrates of the county of Wexford, assembled at sessions, held at the county courthouse in Wexford, this 23rd day of May, 1798, have received the most clear and unequivocal evidence, private as well as public, that the system and plans of those deluded persons who style themselves, and are commonly known by the name of, United Irishmen, have been generally adopted by the inhabitants of the several parishes in this county, who have provided themselves with pikes and other arms for the purpose of carrying their plans into execution. And whereas we have received information that the inhabitants of some parts of this county have, within these few days past, returned to their allegiance, surrendering their arms, and confessing the errors of their past

grandfather. All the family papers dealing with his ancestor, including some notes written by Mr. Wyndham's mother, have been published by his cousin Mr. Gerald Campbell in his admirable *Life of Lord Edward FitzGerald.*

[1] *Memoirs of Lord Edward FitzGerald*, p. 289.

misconduct. Now we, the high sheriff and magistrates assembled as aforesaid, do give this public notice that if, within the space of fourteen days from the date hereof, the inhabitants of the other parts of this county do not come in to some of the magistrates of this county and surrender their arms, or other offensive weapons, concealed or otherwise, and give such proof of their return to their allegiance as shall appear sufficient, an application will be made to Government to send the army at free quarters into such parishes as shall fail to comply, to enforce due obedience to this notice.

"(Signed) Edward Percival, Sheriff, Courtown; John Henry Lyster, James Boyd, George Le Hunte, Thomas Handcock, John James, John Pounden, Hawtrey White, James White, Ebenezer Jacob, William Hore, Edward D'Arcy, John Heatly, John Grogan, Archibald Jacob, Edward Turner, Isaac Cornock, Cornelius Grogan,[1] Francis Turner, William Toole, Richard Newton King, Charles Vero." [2]

It was too late for the olive branch; King Revolt had come into his own.

[1] Cornelius Grogan (1738 ?–1798). M.P. for Enniscorthy 1783–1790. Commissary-General to the Wexford rebel forces and formerly High Sheriff of the county. His wealth was large, being variously estimated at from £6,000 to £8,000 per annum, and was afterwards confiscated. Grogan was over seventy years of age when he was executed at Wexford on the 28th June, 1798. His two brothers commanded yeomanry corps.

[2] *A Popular History of the Insurrection of 1798.* By the Rev. Patrick F. Kavanagh (Cork: Guy, 1898, Centenary Edition), pp. 87–88.

CHAPTER IV

THE HARVEST OF REVOLT

"There never was in any country so formidable an effort on the part of the people."—CASTLEREAGH.

WITH the operations of rebel and royalist in the counties of Kildare, Meath, and Carlow we have nothing to do; but the first attempts at warfare on the part of the insurgents were far from encouraging. The proposed attack on Dublin Castle and the release of State prisoners in Newgate jail proved little more than an episode; while the rebels were beaten at several other places, excepting only Prosperous, a little town situated some seventeen miles from the capital. In Wexford the rebellion assumed its most ugly form. It is certain that the unexpected happened in this instance, for a mere handful of the regular army and militia—amounting, perhaps, to six hundred men—were quartered in the county,[1] and its defence was practically left to the yeomanry in the early stages of the campaign. The Rev. Patrick F. Kavanagh, in his interesting but partisan book, prints in the Appendix a description of the men of '98 from the pen of "A Correspondent," who writes:

[1] Gordon, p. 86.

"The Wexfordmen who composed this army averaged six feet, lathy and bony, rather long oval features, very good-looking generally, brown-haired, felt flower-pot hats, grey frieze swallow-tailed coats, brown mohair vests, double-breasted; frieze or corduroy knee breeches, blue or green garters, pepper-and-salt stockings, shoes with a buckle on the outside and in front of ankle, brass buttons, that are nearly out of fashion now unless in wild districts. Some of them had trustys, or cotha mores, made of frieze, of a peculiar shape, and white ivory buttons. I saw some of those coats; if they were not very handsome, they were very comfortable. Those poor men carried raw wheat in their pockets as provisions, and it was buried with them in Mountainstown and Raffan, and the following season it grew out of the graves and renewed itself for the second year. I think that this much was never published. It is traditionary, but, I am as sure as I live, 'tis true. . . ." [1]

If there was nothing particularly picturesque in the costumes of the insurgents, the military passion for a distinctive uniform asserted itself, and some of them must have looked like Red Indians in all the glamour of war-paint. "Most persons," Hay tells us, "were desirous to wear ornaments of some kind or other, and accordingly decorated themselves in the most fantastical manner with feathers, tippets, handkerchiefs, and all the showy parts of ladies' apparel: green was the most favourite and predominant colour, but on failure of this, decorations of almost any other

[1] Kavanagh, pp. 341–342.

colour were substituted; and as to their flags or ensigns, they were also generally green or of a greenish hue, but on account of a deficiency in this respect, they displayed banners of all colours except orange, to which the people shewed the most unalterable dislike, aversion and antipathy:—even blue, black, red and yellow, were remarked among their banners. Many damsels made an offering of their coloured petticoats for the public service, and to make these gifts the more acceptable, they usually decorated them according to their different fancies, and from the variety thus exhibited, there appeared not two similar banners in the whole. Several loyal ladies too, both in town and country, displayed their taste in richly and fancifully ornamenting ensigns, to ingratiate themselves with the people; but many of them, not having time to perfect their *chef d'œuvres* before the insurrection was suppressed, have since thought it prudent, I suppose, to destroy these and the like specimens of elegant accomplishment, at which I had opportunities of observing them earnestly employed, during the short-lived period of popular triumph."[1] At the battle of Arklow "each company had a green flag or colour about two feet square, with a yellow harp in the centre. Some, however, were party-coloured, and equal in size to the King's colours."[2]

Kavanagh records a conversation with his grandfather, Mr. John Prendergast, a rebel of '98, who died

[1] Hay, pp. 132–133.
[2] Musgrave, p. 441.

at Knottown, near Wexford, in 1855.[1] According to this authority, the majority of the insurgents of Wexford were between twenty and thirty years of age, and their height above the average. Abnormal physical proportion is not necessarily an advantage on the field of battle, and a Goliath is more likely to be a billet for a bullet than the less conspicuous David. It is abundantly clear that there was a woeful deficiency of ammunition, both of powder and ball, and what muskets the rebels possessed were therefore of little use to them. At close quarters the pike was terrible in execution, but worthless before coming up with the enemy, except for clearing purposes. "They were from eight to twelve feet long," says Prendergast, "blade and all. Some of them had a hook at the side, which was very useful in cutting the leather bridles of the cavalry. I heard that they afterwards got steel chains instead. From what I saw no cavalry could stand the pike, for when the horse got a prod he reared and the rider was either thrown out of the saddle, or could not use his sword, so that we had him at our mercy." [2]

Gordon, also with the authority of an eye-witness, shows that the loyalists were likewise at a disadvan-

[1] So recently as January, 1909, the Clerk of the Limerick Board of Guardians was notified of the death of Mrs. Johanna Leonard, aged 118 years. She could recall impressions of the rebellion of '98 and the attempted insurrection of 1820, as well as the risings of 1848 and 1867. In October, 1908, the death was reported of Mrs. Catherine Kierans of Newton Butler, Co. Fermanagh, who had vivid recollections of the incidents following the rebellion of '98.

[2] Kavanagh, p. 302.

tage in some respects, due to that want of foresight apparently inherent in British military matters. "In the formation of the companies or corps of yeomen," he notes, "to appoint the far greater part of them cavalry was an error, as the event clearly proved; for in the rebellion which ensued, the yeoman infantry, supported by regular troops, fought steadily against the foe; while the horsemen, from the nature of the country, uneven with hills, and every where intersected with ditches, their want of proper subordination and discipline, and the facility of escape, were of little use except for patroles or expresses, though their horses were superior to those of the regular cavalry in the traversing of ditches and fields. If these troops had been habituated to dismount and engage on foot with carbines, their service might have been of considerable effect; but, as the matter was, they could hardly ever be brought to a charge on the rebels, or to make a retreat with regularity." [1]

When asked to give his opinion as to the nature of the force to be sent from England, Lieutenant-General Lake answered that "from the nature of this country, inaccessible to cavalry in many parts, owing to morasses, craggy mountains, woods, and narrow passes, (of which the rebels have already discovered sufficient knowledge to avail themselves) it appears to me that, although an increase of cavalry must always be acceptable, it is desirable the reinforcement intended for this country should consist more of infantry than of

[1] Gordon, p. 63.

cavalry."[1] "As to the cavalry," comments Miles Byrne, "in a country like Ireland, so fenced everywhere with hedge-rows and ditches, there was nothing to be feared."[2] "No country in the world," he says in another place, "except La Vendée in France, offers the same advantages for making war against cavalry as Ireland, on account of the smallness of the fields, and the very high fences with which they are surrounded in every part. How curious it is, we had no instance of those bold fox hunters[3] who composed the yeomen cavalry corps (and whose horses never refused leaping any kind of fence), making a charge through fields to attack even twenty of our pikemen who kept well together; but a single isolated man was sure to be pursued and cut down by them."[4]

As already noted, the commissariat of the insurgents when they were campaigning was pitiable, and the utter disregard for paper money was such that bank-notes were used as spills for lighting pipes and as waddings for fire-locks.[5] When the town of Wexford fell into the hands of the rebels some attempt was made to regulate the supply of food, as will be shown in a subsequent chapter; but in the field business-like methods were apparently impracticable. Cattle were driven into the camps and slaughtered

[1] Lieut.-Gen. Lake to Lord Castlereagh, Dublin, 1st June, 1798, *Castlereagh Correspondence*, Vol. I., p. 213.

[2] Miles Byrne, Vol. I., p. 138.

[3] This has special reference to Hunter Gowan, whom Byrne detested.

[4] Miles Byrne, Vol. I., p. 181.

[5] Hay, p. 131.

wholesale, with the result that there was much waste, and the stench arising from decomposing carcases became on occasion almost unbearable.

At the outbreak of the rebellion some of the men formed themselves into parish divisions, securing any weapons and horses they could find; but of definite organisation there was very little. Many peasants wandered about the hills until they allied themselves with the first body of insurgents which happened to be sighted, and after a defeat the gathering together of the scattered units was not always successful, little unattached bands marching from place to place, with no apparent object in view other than giving the loyalists as much trouble and annoyance as possible. Statistics of the number of men engaged in the furtherance of the rebel cause are, of course, approximate only, and malcontents from the counties of Wicklow, Dublin, King's, Queen's, Kildare, Carlow, Kilkenny, and Waterford reinforced those of Wexford on the eve of hostilities. Taylor gives the number of the disaffected under arms as 100,300.[1]

On the 26th May fires lighted on the hills of Corrigrua and Boulavogue,[2] the former by Father John Murphy, flashed the signal for a general rising,[3] and the pent-up fury of religious passion burst forth in all its hideous might. Much ink and ingenuity has been used in an endeavour to prove that Father John Murphy did not take the field until he was practically

[1] Taylor, p. 171.
[2] Also spelt Boolavogue in some works.
[3] Maxwell, p. 87.

forced to do so by the ferocious proceedings of some of the yeomanry, but, as we have already noted, so late as the 9th April, 1798, he and his parishioners declared their loyalty.[1] Harwood asserts that the priest's "Saturday evening's preparations for Whitsuntide mass and sermon were disturbed by the irruption of a troop of Orange yeomanry, who burned forthwith his chapel, his house, and some twenty farm-houses in the place. . . . Father John Murphy rebelled that moment, rose against these yeomen with a strong party of his parishioners, and two officers of the marauders were killed. It was no use preaching 'peace, peace,' after that. The Whitsuntide mass and sermon were left to shift for themselves; the priest and his flock, and a crowd of other fugitives and 'disaffected persons' from the country round, assembled, and encamped for the night on Oulard [Oulart] Hill, about ten miles north of Wexford—and the Wexford Rebellion was begun." [2] If the affidavits of two rebels named Rossiter and Crawley, which Musgrave cites, are to be believed, the priest's house was not set on fire until several hours after the death of Lieutenant Bookey,[3] whose residence, called Rockspring, situated some seven miles from Gorey, was burned by the rebels. As will be seen by the Detail Book, the chapel was destroyed on the following day, and after the bodies of Lieutenant Bookey and Private John Donovan had been found.[4]

[1] See *ante*, p. 57. [2] Harwood, p. 173.
[3] Musgrave, Appendix No. XVIII., p. 85.
[4] See *post*, p. 86.

Intentional or otherwise, the outbreak speedily assumed a religious complexion. In Wexford, writes Castlereagh on the 12th June, 1798, " it is perfectly a religious phrensy. The priests lead the rebels to battle: on their march, they kneel down and pray, and show the most desperate resolution in their attack. . . . They put such Protestants as are reported to be Orangemen to death, saving others upon condition of their embracing the Catholic faith. It is a Jacobinical conspiracy throughout the kingdom, pursuing its object chiefly with Popish instruments; the heated bigotry of this sect being better suited to the purpose of the republican leaders than the cold, reasoning disaffection of the northern Presbyterians."[1] In reviewing the situation a year later, the same statesman remarks that " The religious complexion of the Rebellion in the South gradually separated the Protestants from the treason, and precisely in the same degree appeared to embark the Catholics in it." [2]

The story from the loyalists' point of view will now be told by the Camolin Yeomanry Detail Book and the Mount Norris Correspondence, supplemented as occasion arises by particulars necessary to a clear understanding of the War in Wexford in 1798. The original spelling and punctuation have been retained in both instances. Entries of mere routine orders and regimental details of no historical importance or in-

[1] Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Wickham, Dublin Castle, 12th June, 1798.—*Castlereagh Correspondence*, Vol. I., p. 219.

[2] Lord Castlereagh to the Duke of Portland, Dublin Castle, 3rd June, 1799.—*Ibid.*, Vol. II., p. 326.

terest have been deleted ; this accounts for all missing dates.

"CAMOLIN YEOMANRY DETAIL BOOK.

"Though the different Corps of Yeomanry of the County of Wexford were not put on Permanent Duty by any General Officer 'till the latter end of May 1798, yet in defence of their lives and properties, they were obliged to undergo constant and severe duty from the beginning of the month. In the beginning of May an order arrived from the Castle of Dublin, ordering a Subaltern and 20 men of the Camolin Cavalry immediately to proceed to Dublin for 60 Carabines, 60 Sabres, and ammunition for the above Corps, and on the 7 May, the detatchment under the command of Lieutenant Smith marched for Dublin. On their arrival back in Camolin, the Arms, &c. were deposited in the Guard-room there, and a party of the Troop obliged to mount Guard on them day and night. Towards the latter end of May the Camolin Cavalry were ordered by the Magistrates to do Duty in the neighbourhoods of Ballycanew[1] and Camolin, and detatchments from it were obliged almost every day to escort United Men to either Wexford or Enniscorthy, to have them put on board a Prison Ship, then moored in the Harbour of Waterford near Duncannon Fort.[2] Yeo-

[1] Also spelt Ballycannoe, Ballycanoe, Ballycanew, and Ballycannoo.

[2] Wexford was proclaimed to be in a state of rebellion by the magistrates of the northern baronies who met at Gorey on the 25th April, and orders were issued for all arms to be delivered up. Some of the peasantry took this opportunity to withdraw from an apparently untenable position, but as the number of weapons sur-

man Cavalry ordered by the Magistrates to Parole the Country by Night.

" May 25.—Camolin Cavalry ordered by the Magistrates to assist them in receiving Pikes from the United Men, who came in numbers to Camolin for that purpose. Lieut. Smith and 20 Men ordered to Killena to burn the dwelling house of John Lawless, a retailer of Pikes—dined at free quarters at the house of Daniel Dempsey, who informed the Party that he supposed his sons had fled the Country, as he had not seen them for some days before. Lieut. Bookey and another party of the troop pulled down a Smith's forge in Camolin, where Pikes had been made. All parties repaired to Camolin in the evening, where they mounted Guard.

" May 26.—United Men coming in with their concealed Arms, and taking the Oath of Allegiance administered to them by the siting Magestrates, Sir Frederick Flood, and Henry Brownrigg Esq. An officer and 20 men ordered to burn the house of Miles Leary near Killena—did not burn it, as he promised to deliver up all the Arms in his possession early the

rendered was not commensurate with the population believed to possess them, a more stringent order was given on the 23rd May to the effect that companies of soldiers would be marched to districts not complying within fourteen days, and take up free quarters. The horrors of martial law in 1798 may not have surpassed those of the Inquisition, but the accounts of Hay, Byrne, and Gordon contain the most gruesome pen-pictures of legalised savagery. The " pitched cap," the cat-o'-nine-tails, the hangman's rope, and the flaming torch were used with sickening effect. Many rebels were arrested and transported. It is to be feared that this method of teaching the people a salutary lesson only made them more determined to cast off the yoke which galled them.

next morning—dined at free quarters at the house of Bryan Lacy's Killena-mill, where the detatchment [was joined] by a Corporal and four men, who had been sent towards Courtown to bring in the body of Catharine Murphy, charged with having administered the United Oath to several Men. On the party's march to Camolin, they were met by a messenger from Lieut. Bookey, mentioning that the long expected Rebellion had broke out in several parts of the country, and that an entire family of Protestants had been murdered by the Insurgents near Scarawalsh. Party hastened to Camolin (leaving the Prisoner in charge with some Loyalists who lodge her safe in Camolin), where they receive an order from Isaac Cornock, Esq., a Magistrate, to repair to Ferns, and there join an Officers' guard of the North Cork Regiment of Militia. On arrival in Ferns, Lieut. Smith and a party [1] was ordered towards Scarawalsh, where the Murders were committed, to see if this information was true, and Lieut. Bookey with another Party [2] rode towards the Harrow, where he met a large party of the Insurgents armed with Pikes and some Arms. The Lieut. rode before the Party, and ordered the Rebels to surrender, and deliver up their Arms, on which they discharged a volley at the Party, accompanied with a shower of stones, some of which brought Lieut. Bookey from his horse, as also John Donovan, a private in the Corps. The party after firing a few

[1] Consisting of eighteen or twenty yeomanry cavalry (*see* Lecky, Vol. IV., p. 355).

[2] Taylor (p. 26) gives the number as seventeen or eighteen.

shots, finding themselves overpowered by the Rebels, retreated to Ferns, where they remained 'till day break, melancholy spectators of the devastation committed by the Rebels. The information of the Murders at Scarawalsh found to be true."

The way in which Father John entrapped Thomas Bookey, first lieutenant of the Camolin cavalry, shows that he had a very good idea of the elements of strategy. A few men were detached from the little band and left to blockade the road with two cars as soon as the last yeoman had passed, thus cutting off all hopes of retreat. Some distance further a rough barricade was made which effectually stopped the unsuspecting horsemen, who were piked before they could defend themselves. After this sanguinary fray, Camolin Park was looted to good effect, for the Earl of Mount Norris was the custodian of the pikes which had been previously surrendered, and a number of carbines ready for distribution amongst his own corps were also stacked. These weapons were of the greatest value to the insurgents, who looked upon them as a Godsend. Pat Murray, of Crane, secured the colours of a Volunteer corps of 1782 which were in the Earl's possession, and marched off with them in triumph. The banner was subsequently used by the Monaseed corps of rebels. The men next surrounded the fallen lieutenant's house of Rockspring, which was brilliantly defended by two servants. As a last resource the rebels set fire to the building, but the inmates managed to effect their escape. Byrne makes no

mention of this in his *Memoirs*, although he makes much of the raid on Camolin Park.[1] "From this commencement of hostility," writes Gordon, "the commotion spread rapidly on all sides; and the collection of rebel parties was greatly promoted by the reports disseminated of numbers of people shot in the roads, at work in the fields, and even in their houses, unarmed and unoffending, by straggling parties of yeomen. Influenced by these reports, which were not without some foundation, great numbers took refuge with their friends in arms. . . ." [2] One of the rebels, disguised as a groom, and carrying letters fictitiously addressed to Lord Mount Norris, took the news to Castlebridge, and from thence it soon spread, to the great advantage of the Irish cause.[3]

"May 27.—This morning at the dawn, the Country presented a frightful appearance—houses in flames on every side, and loyal families flying into Ferns for protection. Camolin Cavalry march from Ferns towards the Harrow, where they found the bodies of Lieut. Bookey and John Donovan mangled in a barbarous manner by Rebel Pikes—joined by the Enniscorthy [4] and Healthfield Yeoman Cavalry,[5] they took a circuit thro' the country, killed a great number of

[1] See Vol. I., p. 34.
[2] Gordon, p. 89.
[3] Kavanagh, p. 101.
[4] Under Captain Richards.
[5] Under Captain John Grogan. Taylor also mentions a third corps, the Scarawalsh infantry, commanded by Captain Cornock (Taylor, p. 30).

the Insurgents,[1] who seemed as if collecting in a body, and burnt upwards of 170 houses belonging to Rebels whose inhabitants had fled, and also the Popish Chapel of Boulavogue, whose Priest, John Murphy, head[ed] the Rebels the night before at the Harrow. At 3 o'clock the Camolin Cavalry arrived at Camolin, where they found the Carabines and Sabres had been incautiously distributed to improper Persons. The troop finding Camolin not tenable,[2] marched for Gorey, followed by all its loyal inhabitants. This evening a reinforcement from Arklow arrived in Gorey, consisting of one Troop of Yeoman Cavalry and 30 Antrim Militia, under the command of Lieut. Elliott [3] of the Antrim [Militia]. News arrived that a large detatchment of the North Cork Militia marched out of Wexford to Oulart, met the Insurgents in force on a hill near Oulart,[4] an action commenced, in which [the]

[1] Musgrave says about 150. The rebels mentioned were evidently those who had gathered on Killthomas Hill, about nine miles to the west of Gorey, led by Father Michael Murphy. Kavanagh (p. 104) asserts that about 300 of them were killed, but this seems to be an exaggeration.

[2] Guided by Father Francis Kavanagh, the Roman Catholic inhabitants of Camolin, who had managed to conceal a large number of weapons, although they had surrendered several hundred pikes before the actual breaking out of the rebellion, proceeded on the 27th May to show their sympathy with the general movement of their fellow compatriots by sacking the town. Captain White of the Ballakeen cavalry had assembled his corps at Gorey the previous day, which, in addition to his own men, was defended by a body of yeoman cavalry, infantry, and supplementary men embodied by the Earl of Courtown at his own expense in October, 1796 (*see* Gordon, p. 104, and Musgrave, pp. 335–6).

[3] Usually spelt Elliot.

[4] About eight miles to the north of Wexford and ten to the south of Gorey.

military was almost entirely cut off. The Military stood to their Arms all night.

"May 28.—Early this morning information was received by some fugitive Loyalists that the Insurgents had totally defeated the detatchment of North Cork Militia at Oulart, and possessed themselves of all their arms and ammunition—that they had murdered the Rev. Robert Burrowes, his Son, and Edward D'Arcy, Esq., and burned their houses, and that they had marched in full strength to attack Wexford. A meeting of the different Officers took place, when it was resolved to abandon the town, and fall back to Arklow, previous to which some Prisoners who were in the Guard-room, were taken out and shot. Between Coolgreny and Arklow a small force from the latter place was met coming to the relief of Gorey, however, they did not think it prudent to advance on to Gorey, but the whole proceeded to Arklow. All the fugitive Loyalists who had arms were obliged, on entering Arklow, to surrender them at the Barrack gate by order of the Commanding Officer.[1] Camolin Cavalry ordered to proceed to the house of Thomas Murray near Arklow, to remain there 'till morning at free quarters, and to keep up a guard and patrole—to march to Arklow early the next morning."

The murder of Dr. Burrowes, the rector of Kilmuckridge, and the Loyalist defeat at Oulart, warrant more detailed notice. If no further proof were forthcoming of the religious nature of the war in Wexford,

[1] Captain Rowan.

this fact alone would warrant one to assume that such was the case. It seems also to have been a more or less personal matter, for Kilmuckridge is close to the scene of Father John's ministerial labours, although it is doubtful whether the Protestant ever poached on the Catholic preserves. Froude certainly describes the rector as " a harmless gentleman." [1]

On being informed that his death had been planned, Dr. Burrowes promptly gathered together his family and as many parishioners as his house at Kyle would hold, and after having barricaded it, the little band prepared to sell their lives as dearly as possible. The mob came early on the morning of Sunday, the 27th May, and finding that the rector and his colleagues offered a stubborn resistance, the insurgents set fire to the place. On the priest promising that all they required was surrender, and that no one would be harmed, the defenders left the house and Dr. Burrowes and seven others were butchered,[2] the rector's son receiving a severe wound from which he ultimately died.[3]

By no means satisfied by this accomplishment, Father John and his horde proceeded to Ferns, the seat of Dr. Cleaver,[4] the Protestant bishop. The inhabitants of the town had fled to Enniscorthy, escorted by militia and yeomanry under Captain Cornock. Finding that the various members of the

[1] Vol. III., p. 435.

[2] Taylor (p. 29) says that five only were murdered.

[3] Musgrave, pp. 330–32.

[4] Euseby Cleaver (1746–1819), Bishop of Cork and of Ferns 1789; Archbishop of Dublin 1809.

episcopal family had also effected their escape the mob, after having thoroughly regaled themselves at the prelate's expense, entered the library and tore the contents to shreds, preserving the vellum bindings for the utilitarian purposes of saddlery. They then set fire to the palace, which speedily became a mound of smoking ruins. Still not satisfied, many of the smaller houses were ransacked or destroyed.

These preliminary successes, if they may be so termed, encouraged Father Michael Murphy, curate of the adjoining hamlet of Ballycanew, to join forces with his namesake, and as events proved, the alliance was particularly propitious. These brethren of the Church militant speedily showed that whatever triumphs they may have had in spiritual warfare were as nothing compared to their achievements against the Protestant hosts of Satan in combat with flesh and blood. Oulart now being the next stage of their journey to Enniscorthy and the Mecca of Wexford, the four or five thousand insurgents made their way there, and divided into two bands, one of them taking up a favourable position on Oulart Hill, and the other on Killthomas Hill. On the 27th May the latter camp was attacked by the Carnew garrison of between 200 and 300 men, who successfully wreaked their vengeance for the death of Lieutenant Bookey, but on the same day the insurgents at Oulart scored a decided victory, although the number of loyalists engaged was numerically weak. Colonel Foote had marched from Wexford with 110 men of the North Cork Militia under his command, and coming up with Colonel Le Hunte and a

troop of the Shilmalier yeomanry cavalry, determined to attack. Advantage was with the militia at the onset, and the rebels, of whom there were several thousands, beat a hasty retreat. As the soldiers were nearing the summit of the hill, Father John saw his opportunity. He harangued his flock to good purpose, and such a bold stand was made that but five of the North Corks escaped with their lives, including the lieutenant-colonel and a sergeant. The Shilmalier cavalry effected their retreat to Wexford, shooting at all and sundry as they went.

Foote's account of the affair clearly shows that had there been a little less zeal and more caution, the honours of the day would have remained with the loyalists. In a letter to a friend the Lieutenant-Colonel details what our twentieth century newspapers would doubtless call a " regrettable incident " :[1]

" I marched to a hill called Oulart, where between four and five thousand rebels were posted. From their great superiority of numbers, it was not my intention to have attacked them, unless some unforeseen favourable circumstances would warrant that measure ; however, my officers were of a contrary opinion. I met here part of a yeoman cavalry corps, about sixteen ; the remainder, with their serjeant, having that morning joined the rebels. I halted with this corps, while I sent a note by their trumpeter to Wexford, with orders for two officers and forty men to march thence to us to support our detachment ; apprehending that the rebels, from their numbers,

[1] Musgrave, pp. 341–342.

might intercept our retreat. Afterwards, when I joined the party, I found that they were moved forward by the officer next in command;[1] and the soldiers cried out, that they would beat the rebels out of the field. By this movement we were immediately engaged with the rebels, who fired from behind the hedges, without showing any regular front. We beat their advanced party from one hedge to another, which they had successively occupied, and fired from on us, killing great numbers of them, till they retreated in much disorder to the main body, which consisted mostly of pikemen. I considered this a favourable opportunity of forming the detachment, for the purpose of retreating, or of receiving the enemy in a good position; and I used every exertion to effect it; but unfortunately the too great ardour of the men and officers could not be restrained. They rushed forward, were surrounded, and overpowered by numbers. They displayed great valour and intrepidity, and killed a great number of the rebels.[2] Of this detachment, none have as yet returned to Wexford, but myself, a serjeant, and three privates. I received a wound from a pike in my breast, a slight one in my arm, and several bruises and contusions."

[1] Major Lombard.

[2] Hay, the Romanist historian, gives the number of rebels killed as five, and two wounded (p. 84). Musgrave says there were seven killed (p. 342 n.). Gordon states that when the military charged only three insurgents were killed and six wounded (p. 92), which agrees with Miles Byrne (Vol. I., p. 37). Musgrave makes a curious error by referring to "Whitsunday, the day *after* this defeat" (p. 342).

Gordon[1] asserts that Father John had received intelligence of the near approach of Captain Hawtrey White with a band of cavalry from Gorey, hence the priest's appeal for a last desperate resistance. That officer had certainly set out in the hope of meeting the rebels, but he was totally unaware of Foote's movements, and when he had ascertained that the contesting force was very considerable the disparity in numbers caused him to order a retreat to Gorey, his own scanty resources being some eighty men.

After spending the night on Carrigrew Hill, an advance was made by Father John's army to Camolin, which, it will be remembered, had been abandoned the day before by the King's forces, and to Ferns, which was also desolate. After resting for a short time on the hill of Balliorrell, where they were joined by Father Michael Murphy and the remnants of his band, they proceeded to Enniscorthy, a town of 4000 inhabitants and doing a considerable amount of business.

Gordon, who was an eye-witness, gives a graphic account of the evacuation of Gorey on the 28th May: "As the order to retreat was very sudden," he writes, "on account of the imagined rapid approach of a resistless and ferocious enemy, a melancholy scene of trepidation, confusion, and fright was the consequence; the affrighted crowd of people running in all directions for their horses, harnessing their cars and placing their families on them with precipitation,

[1] pp. 91–2.

and escaping speedily as possible from the town. The road was soon filled to a great extent with a train of cars loaded with women and children, accompanied by a multitude on foot, many of whom were women with infants on their backs. The weather being hot and dry, the cloud of dust raised by the fugitive multitude, of whom I with my family was a part, rendered respiration difficult. The reception which we found at Arklow was not well suited to our calamitous condition. Almost fainting with hunger, thirst, fatigue, and want of sleep, we were denied admittance into the town, by orders of the commanding officer of the garrison, Captain Rowan of the Antrim regiment; and great part of the poorer fugitives retiring, took refuge that day and night under the neighbouring hedges; but the better sort, after a little delay, were admitted, on condition of quitting the town in half an hour. The loyalists, on permission to enter Arklow, were obliged to deliver their arms at the gate of the barrack to the guard, who promised to restore them; but, instead of this, they were afterwards formed into a pile in the yard of the barrack and burned. A man named Taylor, clerk of Camolin church, who made some scruple to surrender his arms, was shot by the guard. After our admission our situation was not so comfortable as we might have expected, for no refreshment could be procured by money for men or horses, and the hearts of the inhabitants in general seemed quite hardened against us. But, for my own part, I found very humane treatment."[1]

[1] Gordon, pp. 105–106.

"May 29.—Troop returned to Arklow early this morning, when they received orders to be in readiness to be inspected by Major Hardy, Commander of the County of Wicklow. At one Major Hardy arrived, inspected all the Yeomanry from Gorey, and informed them, as they had quit their districts, they were now to be considered as Soldiers, and to act as such. Yeomanry ordered on Permanent Duty. Received some ammunition, and the Yeomanry from Gorey together with 30 Antrim and 30 North Cork, ordered back to Gorey, to be under the Command of Lieut. Elliott. At 5 o'clock the Army marched, and arrived in Gorey about 10, which they found in the same state as they left it.[1]

"May 30.—Information was this morning received, that the Insurgents, in number upwards of 10,000, had attacked the town of Enniscorthy, and after a conflict of three hours, the King's forces were obliged to evacuate the town and fly to Wexford. This action took place on the 28 May Instant. In consequence of which Reconnoitreing parties were sent out, with orders to act with caution. Camolin Cavalry marched to Camolin Park,[2] and there heard that a large body of the Insurgents had been there that morning, and that they had plundered the house of various articles of value—among whom (*sic*) was Father John Redmond. Brought the Standard

[1] Lecky, (Vol. IV., p. 374) says that the militia and yeomanry did not return to Gorey until the 31st, which, according to the above, is incorrect.

[2] The seat of the Earl of Mount Norris.

presented by Lady Mount-Norris to the Camolin Cavalry away."[1]

As the "King's forces" at Enniscorthy numbered some 300 yeomanry and militia only, it is not astonishing that they were ultimately forced to surrender, although they made a most determined stand and behaved with great gallantry. The Duffry gate, ably defended by the yeoman infantry, was first attacked, and the rebels beaten back again and again before the defenders were obliged to withdraw into the town, which had been set on fire by those of the enemy who had entered at less well-protected spots. For a time the fate of Enniscorthy trembled in the balance, and the rebels were obliged to evacuate it. This apparent advantage proved of little worth to the loyalists, who had paid for their success so dearly that they were forced to make a hurried exit and push with all speed towards Wexford. There being no opposition, the insurgents entered the town, taking good care to form a camp on Vinegar Hill, a point of considerable strategic value, which henceforth became a permanent centre until the 20th June, when it was broken up. "The town," says Musgrave, "the morning after the rebels got possession of it, presented a dreadful scene of carnage and conflagration; many bodies were lying dead in the streets, and others groaning in the agonies of death; some parts of the place were entirely consumed, and in others the flames

[1] Musgrave states that a numerous body of rebels attacked Gorey on the 30th, but were repulsed (p. 344).

continued to rage with inextinguishable fury; no less than 478 dwelling houses and cabins were burned in the town and its suburbs [Templeshannon and Drumgoold], besides a great number of stores, malt-houses, and out-offices."[1] The writer of the Detail Book seems to have exaggerated the number of insurgents, which Lecky puts at 6,000 or 7,000 men.[2] Authorities also differ as to the losses incurred on both sides, but the same historian roughly estimates them at " three officers and rather more than eighty soldiers," and from " one hundred to five hundred " insurgents.[3]

Father John Murphy, bent on making his triumphal entry into Wexford with the least possible delay, did not wait to indulge in the orgies which were now to form so conspicuous a part of the daily round at Vinegar Hill. Leaving 10,000 men there, and taking 16,000 rebels with him,[4] he marched on the 29th to the Three Rocks, at the foot of Mt. Forth, and about three miles from his destination. Before starting he

[1] Musgrave, p. 357.

[2] Lecky, Vol. IV., p. 359.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 360. Byrne says that when Father John crossed the Slaney he was " joined by crowds," including Ned Fennell, John Doyle of Ballyellis, Nick Murphy of Monaseed, Michael Redmond and Murt Murnagh, from Little Limerick, and Thomas Synnott, of Kilbride, all of whom were valuable adjuncts to the cause. He states that the casualties were nearly equal on both sides, and that at the Duffry gate more than 100 of the King's troops were killed, with several officers (*see* Miles Byrne, Vol. I., pp. 38 and 46).

[4] " The insurgents were increasing with marvellous rapidity, and their numbers soon amounted to tens of thousands." " The number of armed men who could be counted upon was practically unlimited " (*see* Froude, Vol. III., pp. 444 and 454).

received Edward Fitzgerald, of Newpark,[1] and John Colclough, of Ballyteigue,[2] both of whom had been released from Wexford jail by Captain Boyd of the Wexford Cavalry on the understanding that they should use their persuasive powers with the insurgents and endeavour to get them to disband without further bloodshed. As the officer had no power to do so, he could not promise any terms ensuring their acquittal from the consequences of rebellion, and Father John, proud of his success as a chieftain and flushed with victory, not unnaturally rejected the overtures. Fitzgerald, who was styled "Lord" by the rebels, joined the republican army, but Colclough was faithful to the promise they had both made, and returned. Father John's next feat of arms made him still more optimistic. It took place on the 30th May at the Three Rocks. He surprised and cut to pieces two companies of the Meath regiment, sent by Major-General Fawcett[3] as an advance guard from Duncannon Fort for the relief of Wexford, and drove off the contingent under Colonel Maxwell, which had marched from that town to effect a junction with the

[1] After leaving Trinity College, Dublin, Fitzgerald had been called to the Irish Bar. He was a man of considerable property, and inherited the estate of Newpark, Co. Wexford, from his father. He surrendered on the 12th July, 1798, and was obliged to leave Ireland. Fitzgerald died at Hamburg in 1807.

[2] John Henry Colclough, a Catholic who joined the rebels. When the insurgents fled from Wexford on the 21st June, he and B. B. Harvey escaped to the Saltee Islands, where they were discovered on the 24th inst. Colclough was executed on the 28th June, 1798.

[3] Sir William Fawcett (1728–1804). His name is frequently given as Faucitt or Faucett.

former. On the following day Father John entered the gates of the terror-stricken town,[1] for Maxwell, having found it untenable, had fallen back on Duncannon Fort. During the tramp of twenty-three miles some of the troops deserted to the enemy, while others got beyond control and wreaked their vengeance on innocent peasantry.[2]

A letter written at this time to Mr. Addington[3] by Dr. Butson, Dean of Waterford, who had enlisted and accoutred a corps of mechanics, "chiefly Methodists," to help in the defence of the port, amplifies these particulars :[4]

"Waterford, May 31st.

"Nothing can exceed the melancholy aspect of this place. The insurgents in our neighbouring county of Wexford are so numerous as to have taken possession of and destroyed the town of Enniscorthy—not a house remaining ; men, women, and children murdered and burnt, particularly the clergy. A gentleman has informed me that he saw the bodies of Mr. Hayden, a clergyman past eighty years of age, and of Mr. Nun,

[1] It is curious that such conscientious historians as Lecky and Froude should disagree as to the actual date on which the rebels entered Wexford. The former gives the 30th May (Vol. IV., p. 366), which agrees with Byrne (Vol. I., p. 59), while the latter says the 31st (Vol. III., p. 452).

[2] Gordon, p. 102.

[3] Henry Addington (1757–1844), Speaker of the House of Commons 1789 ; Prime Minister 1801–1803 ; President of the Council 1805 ; created Viscount Sidmouth 1805 ; Secretary of State for the Home Department 1812.

[4] *The Life and Correspondence of the Right Honble Henry Addington, first Viscount Sidmouth.* By the Honble George Pellew, D.D., Dean of Norwich (Murray : 1847). Vol. I., pp. 207–208.

a very respectable rector, lying unburied in the street, the day after their entrance, with 400 more dead bodies. Some detachments sent from hence have been defeated: from one under the command of General Faucett,[1] they took two fieldpieces. The rebels amount to 15 or 16,000; march in a disciplined manner, have a squadron of cavalry, and fire their cannon with precision. These circumstances I give on the authority of officers who have been beaten back. Every tide brings us in boats full of wounded and fugitives. Yesterday the rebels were in possession of Wexford; thus a port is open to the French, but it is a very bad harbour. At New Ross, ten miles from hence, about 1000 troops and some artillery are got together: the insurgents are around Wexford, about twenty-eight miles from thence. As yet, from the spirit of the principal inhabitants and clergy uniting to guard it, this city has not risen."

Father John Murphy may be well styled the master-mind of the rebellion in the south of Ireland. It is evident that he was what is comprehensively called "a born leader of men," and he possessed an intuitive knowledge of guerilla warfare not usually associated with those who are supposed to be adepts in the art of peace. In his choice of lieutenants Father John was scarcely less fortunate. He gave the command of the rebel band which he now proposed to leave in Wexford to Captain Matthew Keugh, an ex-officer of the British army. Thus, by a strange turn of Fortune's wheel, a Protestant soldier who had fought

[1] Fawcett.

against the American colonists in the War of Independence became the commander of men whose aspirations were by no means dissimilar.[1] A committee of seven, with Bagenal Harvey[2] as president, was appointed, Keugh being governor. A sub-committee was responsible for the affairs of the town. As for Father John, he was no more disposed to rest on his laurels at Wexford than he had been at Enniscorthy. A much-needed supply of ammunition and arms having been secured from vessels at anchor in the harbour, his followers were in high spirits. The Republican air-castle seemed to have assumed a tangible form. With crucifix upraised the militant defender of the Faith left the scene of his latest triumph on the 31st May, sighing for other towns to conquer and larger game to run to earth in county Wicklow, which happy hunting-ground he hoped to reach by way of Arklow.

"May 31.—Camolin Cavalry, with 20 North Cork Militia, and 10 Gorey Infantry, under the command of Lieut. Swaine ordered to reconnoitre towards Cor-

[1] Matthew Keugh (Miles Byrne spells it Keogh) was formerly Captain-Lieutenant of the 65th Regiment. "He was about five feet nine inches high," Musgrave tells us (p. 444), "and rather robust. His countenance was comely, his features were large, and indicative of an active, intelligent mind. Joined to a very happy and persuasive manner of expressing himself, he had an engaging address, and great affability of manner."

[2] Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey (1762–1798), of Bargay Castle, was a Protestant, and, like Fitzgerald, a man of means. Educated at Trinity College, Dublin, he was called to the Irish Bar. According to Musgrave (p. 388), "His figure was small, and his countenance, though ugly and rather mean, was expressive. He was universally allowed to be a man of humanity, and of the strictest honour and integrity." Harvey was executed on the 27th June, 1798.

rigrua Hill—Lieut. Elliott with a party of Gorey and Ballaghkeene Cavalry, 20 Antrim Militia, and 10 Gorey Infantry, march towards Camolin. On the approach of the former party to Corrigrua, the Rebels posted there appeared in force, and placing their hats on their pikes, gave several dreadful yells. Express sent towards Camolin to inform Lieut. Elliott. Party advance to the Crosses of Ballymore, and thence to the summit of the Hill, where no Rebel was to be seen, they having fled in all directions. Cavalry pursue, and kill a great number of them. Return to Gorey[1] thro' Ballycanew, the latter place seemed deserted by all parties. Cavalry patrole to commence at 9 o'clock, and continue 'till five—Loyalists to take part of the town duty."

There were now two permanent camps, namely, on Vinegar Hill and at the Three Rocks, and two bands of rebels having special objects in view, in addition to Father John's forces. The successes of the insurgents had gathered many to their standards. Each loyalist defeat also added to the material strength of the malcontents, and enabled them to secure rations, ammunition, weapons, and sometimes one or two pieces of artillery. Independent corps came into being, and some of the larger corps divided. It is not always easy, therefore, to trace their individual efforts, especially as contemporary accounts frequently disagree. There was much coming and going, small bands

[1] According to Hay (p. 137), some of the yeomen pillaged the surrounding country to no inconsiderable extent, "brought away as much as they could carry, driving off numbers of cattle, some belonging to Lord Mount Norris. . . ."

joining larger ones, only to become scattered units when defeat precluded concentration. On the 31st May, the commanders held a council of war at the Three Rocks, when it was decided that three main bodies should be constituted. The two Murphys, with head-quarters on Ballymenane Hill, and Anthony Perry, moving from Corrigrua Hill, were to secure Gorey and force their way into Wicklow, where they expected large reinforcements. A second division under Bagenal Harvey, until recently a fellow-prisoner of John Colclough in Wexford jail, with Father Philip Roche[1] as second in command, was ordered to take New Ross, and raise the counties of Kilkenny and Waterford. Their chief station was on Carrickbyrne Hill. Father Kearns,[2] with Captains Doyle and Redmond, were to start from Enniscorthy, secure Newtownbarry, march through Carlow and Kildare, and, if possible, enter Dublin. His force amounted to about 2,500 men.[3] Miles Byrne entertained a very good opinion of Kearns, of whom he says: "Had he been bred to the military profession in a country like France, where courage and merit were sure of being recompensed, he would have been a Kléber, and soon have been raised to the front rank in any army he made part of."[4]

[1] Father Philip Roche had been curate to the Rev. John Synnott, of Gorey, but was removed on account of his intemperate habits. He afterwards became curate to the Rev. Thomas Doyle, Bantry. Gordon (p. 140) draws attention to his humanity and courage.

[2] Father Kearns was in Paris during the Reign of Terror; executed at Edenderry on the 12th July, 1798.

[3] Miles Byrne, Vol. I., p. 63.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 64.

Although there was much discussion, not unmixed with criticism, amongst the more important men of the rebel army as to the wisdom of the different schemes of campaign, all were enthusiastic in the cause, and enthusiasm behind a weapon, be it carbine or pike, doubles its effectiveness. With light hearts they set out for their various bases on the last day of May. The Croppy War in Wexford had taken on a very serious aspect indeed.

The military situation is summed up in the following communication from Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Wickham,[1] dated 31st May, 1798 :

" The rebels still continue in force in the Counties of Wicklow, Wexford, Kildare, Carlow, Meath, and King's County ; it is difficult to bring them to any decisive action. They commit horrid cruelties, and disperse as soon as the troops appear. Should the insurrection confine itself within the present limits, a short time will dispose of it. There are some unpleasant appearances in certain parts of the North, but as yet all is in fact quiet in Ulster, Munster, and Connaught. . . . The spirit of the country rises with its difficulties. Should the rebellion prove only partial, aided by the reinforcements expected from England, I look with confidence to the issue, which, if fortunate, cannot fail to place this kingdom, and of course the empire, in a state of security much beyond that in which it has stood for years past." [2]

[1] William Wickham (1761–1840), Under-Secretary in the Home Department 1798–1800 ; Chief Secretary in Ireland 1802–1804 ; Member of the Treasury Board 1806–1807.

[2] *Castlereagh Correspondence*, Vol. I., p. 212.

CHAPTER V

FROM THE CAPTURE OF GOREY TO THE BATTLE OF ROSS

"All religions that I fell in with in Ireland seemed to me too irreligious: really, in sad truth, doing mischief to the people instead of good."—CARLYLE.

"JUNE 1.—The Patrole of last night gave information that they saw a large fire on Corrigrua Hill, and heard great shouting about the dawn of the day. Ordered that Lieut. Smith, and 20 men of the Camolin Cavalry do proceed on a reconnotreing party towards Corrigrua Hill and return to Gorey by Ballycanew. On the party coming in sight of Corrigrua, the Rebels kindled a large fire, for the purpose of (as we supposed) calling their Pickets in, as men were seen running and galloping to the Hill from all directions. Patrole took another route from that they intended, and coming to the Crosses of Ballymore, saw the Hill thickly planted with Rebels, and another party after setting fire to Mount-Howard house, and Cabbins occupied by Protestants. Between this and Ballycanew, a large party was observed burning all the Protestant houses in Tommagaddy, but on their seeing the cavalry the[y] hastened to Ballycanew to cut of[f] their retreat to Gorey, whilst the entire body from

A TYPICAL IRISH INSURGENT OF 1798
From an old engraving in the collection of Mr. A. M. Broadley

the Hill came pouring down in the same direction. At Ballycanew the Patrole was attacked by the town guard of Rebels, but were defeated without any loss on their side—Patrole had one Man and his horse slightly wounded. Patrole arrived in Gorey and reported. A meeting of the Officers held, when it was determined to march out—meet the Rebels, and not give them time to make a formal attack. Trumpets sounded and Drums beat, and in about 10 minutes a party consisting of 20 Antrim, 20 North Cork, 20 Gorey Infantry, 46 Gorey Cavalry [Lieut. Woodroofe], 36 Ballaghkeen [1] Cavalry [Captain White], and 46 Camolin Cavalry [Lieut. Smith], all under the direction of Lieut. Elliott, marched out to attack them. From the Hill of Ballymenane, midway between Ballycanew and Gorey, the Rebel force was observed—they had formed a Camp and were refreshing themselves after their march —advancing down the hill towards Essex Bridge, they met the Rebels driving a vast number of Horses and other Cattle before them, whilst the ditches inside the road were lined with their Gunsmen. The action now commenced, and for an hour was maintained with great spirit, but at length the Rebels gave way and fled in all directions. The Cavalry then pursued them over a large scope of the country, and killed a great number of them.[2] Infantry entered Ballycanew, and there set fire to several houses, among which was that belonging to James Kenny, a Man who was strongly suspected

[1] Sometimes written Ballakeen by contemporary historians.

[2] Lecky states that "the victorious army abstained from pursuit" (Vol. IV., p. 384). Taylor asserts that about 150 rebels were killed (p. 48).

of having a great hand in the Conspiracy—He was taken by some of the Suplimentary Yeoman and Shot. Rescued two of Gorey Cavalry, and some Loyalists who had been prisoners with the Rebels—reported, that their numbers were upwards of 1000, that they were headed by Priest Murphy of Ballycanew, who, tho' they had more Officers of high rank, he had the chief command—that they were to have encamped on Ballymenane Hill that night, and being joined by a large force from Corrigrua, under the command of Anthony Perry,[1] were to have attacked Gorey early on the following morning. Lieut. Elliott got a slight wound by a fall from his horse—one of his Men a wound in the thigh, and one of the Gorey Cavalry a wound in the Arm. Party returned safe to Gorey, driving before them a vast number of Horses, Mules and Asses, and bearing a variety of Standards taken from the Rebels.[2] Strong Patroles, and double Sentries mounted this night."

The force under Father Kearns[3] which marched from Enniscorthy towards Newtownbarry on the morning of the same day met with no better fortune. The loyalist garrison there had been hastily despatched from Dublin, and consisted of but a few

[1] Anthony Perry, a Protestant who had been arrested and confined at Gorey previous to the rebellion, liberated on the 28th May, 1798. His house being entered by yeomen, he joined the insurgents, and afterwards paid the penalty by being hanged at Edenderry, King's County, "a little before the end of the rebellion."

[2] According to Taylor (p. 48), over 100 horses, some guns and pikes, and two green standards.

[3] Called Father Kern by Froude (*see* Vol. III., p. 459).

hundred men, made up of King's County militia, yeoman infantry, volunteers, Newtownbarry and Carlow cavalry, and a few of the 4th Dragoons, commanded by Colonel L'Estrange of the King's County regiment. The rebels posted themselves on a near-by hill, but as the point did not prove so advantageous as they had hoped, owing either to the short range or the bad serving of their artillery, they descended and prepared to rush the town. By a skilful manœuvre Colonel L'Estrange retreated towards Carlow, whereupon the insurgents poured into Newtownbarry, making the place a veritable inferno with their yells, and the crackling of wood and the volume of smoke soon made it evident that their old practice of setting houses on fire was in operation. The loyalists who had remained shot at the disorderly mob from whatever point of vantage they could secure. Colonel L'Estrange, urged on by his troops rather than seizing the opportunity on his own initiative, charged into the town, to the complete dismay of the captors, who, according to some reports, were celebrating what they thought was a complete victory by imbibing whatever liquor they could discover.[1] They fled in the wildest confusion, and were followed for four miles by the troops, who thus prevented the junction with the Carlow and Kildare rebels which was to have been effected the following day. Well may Taylor refer to the yeomen who behaved with such conspicuous gallantry on this occasion as " the military saviours of their country, and the bulwark of

[1] Byrne indignantly denies this charge (*see* Vol. I., p. 65).

the Irish nation."[1] The scattered units of Kearns' army succeeded in making their way in detached bands to Vinegar Hill, where the majority of them arrived on Saturday, the 2nd June. On the following day they joined John Murphy, Redmond, Perry, and Roche at Corrigrua Hill,[2] whose men were now in one body, and being drilled by yeomen who had either resigned or been dismissed from their corps before the breaking out of the rebellion.[3]

" June 2.—Advices was this morning received that the Rebels to the amount of 30,000, had on Wednesday the 30 Ultimo, attacked the town of Wexford, compleatly routed the Garrison there, and destroyed the town. Reconnoitreing parties ordered to patrole towards Ballycanew, Corrigrua Hill, and Camolin, to act with the greatest caution. Private intelligence was this day in circulation, that a large Brigade of Military were on their March, and to arrive in Gorey this evening—No Military arrived. Strong Patroles and double Guards on all the leading Avenues to the town—to Report every two hours.

" June 3.—A party from each Yeomanry Corps of Cavalry to patrole from hence towards Corrigrua Hill, to be commanded by an officer—Lieut. Smith of the Camolin Cavalry, from his knowledge of the Country, chosen on this Service. A Detatchment of the Antient British Light Dragoons, commanded by Colonel Sir

[1] Taylor, p. 45.
[2] Byrne, Vol. I., p. 67.
[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. I., p. 71.

Watkin Wynne[1] arrived in town. The party ordered to Corrigrua returned—Lieut. Smith reported that on his coming in view of the Hill the Rebels posted thereon set their hats on their Pikes, and having lighted several fires, as he supposed for signals, they set up a most dreadful Yell—he proceeded as far as Mrs Donovan's gate at Ballymore, when a band of Rebels rushed from the house, inclosures, &c. and fired several shots at his party, on which they retreated. In the evening, a considerable force of Military arrived at Gorey, consisting of the Dumbarton Fencible Infantry, detatchments of the Londonderry, Armagh, and Antrim Militia, Tyrone and Suffolk Light Companies, and the Arklow Yeoman Cavalry and Infantry, under the Command of Major-General Loftus and Colonel Walpole[2]—Yeomanry ordered to provide two days provision, and to be in readiness for marching at 9 o'clock tomorrow morning. Strong Patroles and double Sentry's on all the leading Avenues to the town—and to Report.

"June 4.—Three file from each Yeomanry Corps of Cavalry ordered to attend as Guides to the Army who are preparing to surround the Rebel Army posted on Corrigrua Hill. Some information respecting the Plan formed by the Rebels for an attack on Gorey,[3] was communicated to Col. Walpole by

[1] Colonel Sir Watkin Williams Wynne.

[2] Colonel Lambert Theodore Walpole (1757–1798), *aide-de-camp* to Lord Camden.

[3] Their ambition was now to capture Gorey and New Ross, in order "to open out a communication to other counties, and thus to produce that general insurrection throughout Ireland without

John Doolin of Clogh,[1] a Loyalist, for which he was order[ed] into confinement. At half past nine, the line was inspected by Col. Walpole preparatory to their march—he objects to having any of the Camolin Cavalry to attend the Army, but on Captain White's representing them as Men of strict loyalty and conduct, he consents to their moving with the Army. At 10 the Army, consisting of 1500 men with five pieces of Cannon, under the command of Gen. Loftus and Col. Walpole march out of Gorey for the purpose of surrounding and cutting off the Rebels on Corrigrua—the division under Gen. Loftus march in the direction of Ballycanew, to surround the Hill on one side—Walpole's division march through Clogh to take another side of the Hill, but are met at Tubberneering by the entire Rebel force from Corrigrua, and totally defeated —Col. Walpole killed by a ball thro' his head—the remnant of Walpole's Army (which was by much the weakest) having lost three pieces of Cannon, retreated in confusion to Gorey, and as they passed down the

which the Wexford rebellion was manifestly hopeless" (Lecky, Vol. IV., p. 384). Perry sent urgent messages to Vinegar Hill and Wexford requesting immediate reinforcements. Taylor (p. 48) says that 12,000 insurgents under the two priests Kearns and Redmond were accordingly sent to Corrigrua Hill, where 8,000 were already stationed under Perry. Many detached and independent bodies also came to swell the augmented host, including that portion of the Shilmalier cavalry under Sergt. Edward Roche which had deserted a week before.

[1] Gordon states that this intelligence was given by "a respectable farmer, named Thomas Dowling," and that the rebels also knew of the intended movements of the army, owing to the incautious publicity given to them in the town, which the disaffected passed on (p. 114).

street, were fired at from the windows, by persons who had in the morning, every appearance of Loyalty.[1] Army retreat out of Gorey with difficulty, and proceed to Arklow, the inhabitants of which used the fugitive Loyalists in a very ungenerous manner. Lieut. Smith and Serjeant Nesbit after encountering great difficulties, arrive safe at Arklow. The entire Army stood to their Arms, and at a Council of War held at 12 o'clock at night, it was there resolved to evacuate the town, and proceed immediately to Wicklow. Orders—'No person to quit the town, untill the Garrison marches over the Bridge.'

"June 5.—After having burned every thing military which the[y] could not take with them, the Military commenced their march at 2 o'clock, taking with them several Prisoners who were confined in the Guard Room on charges of Rebellion.—Arrived in Wicklow about 10 o'clock, where the Army and Loyalists received all the kindness their calamitous conditions required. At 7 in the afternoon, Major General Needham,[2] with the Cavan Regiment of Militia, Col. Maxwell, arrived in Wicklow, having travelled in Carriages, &c. hired for the purpose, from Loughlinstown Camp. This

[1] Loftus sent a detachment to support Walpole, who assumed separate command, but he himself did not reach the scene of the disaster until all was over. Feeling his army too weak to attack Gorey, where the rebels at once took up a strong position, he retreated to Carnew, and later to Carlow. The loyalist cause lost over fifty men. In this battle Father Philip Roche played a prominent part.

[2] Major-General the Hon. Francis Needham (1748–1832), M.P. for Newry 1806–1818; twelfth Viscount Kilmorey 1818; Earl of Kilmorey 1822.

Evening, Captain Earl Mount Norris arrived from Dublin, and joined his Corps of Yeoman Cavalry. 'Orders—The Garrison to march for Arklow, tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.' Strong Patroles and double Sentry's on all the leading Avenues to the town. The Marching Army to be exempt from Duty this night."[1]

When the insurgents were in complete possession of Gorey it was not long before they secured both liquor and plunder. Taylor, the Protestant historian, had the misfortune to be taken prisoner, and although the account of his terrible experiences makes heartrending reading, the vividness of the picture perhaps justifies a lengthy quotation.

"I passed through many of the rebels," he writes, "saw a great number of Protestants' houses burning between me and home, and heard many shots fired round the country, which I supposed to be levelled at the poor inhabitants who were escaping from the flames. I proceeded, however, without meeting any opposition, until I got within three miles of my mother's house; just then a man followed me, whom I knew not, and called out, 'where are you going, young Taylor?' ordering me to stop. I obeyed, and thus fell into the hands of the rebels. This was on Wednesday the 6th of June. I was then taken to Gorey, and confined in the market-house: at night the guards that were placed over us, tied our arms behind, and

[1] The total force now amounted to 1,500 or 1,600 effective men (Lecky, Vol. IV., p. 428).

confined us to certain bounds which we should not pass. The same evening they brought in another prisoner, whom the merciless wretches shot next morning in the street; I saw him fall, and was shocked at the sight, not knowing how soon it would be my own case. Next day we had liberty to walk the room, our arms being untied.

"The rebel camp was about half a mile from the town, on an eminence which commanded the entire country, and their numbers were increasing every day. My Papist neighbours hearing I was in confinement, came to see me; wished me a speedy deliverance and told me how to procure it; namely, to be baptized by a priest, and embrace the holy Roman Catholic faith, (as they called it,) and join them in arms to fight for the cause of liberty: many told me I would be shot if I did not turn papist, and made use of great persuasion to prevail upon me. I told them I was obliged to them, and doubted not that it was good nature which induced them to speak as they did, but I was baptized before, and had no reason to condemn the Church of England; yet if they could convince me of its errors, I would freely renounce it, and until then, they could not expect me to turn from it. To others I said it required a little consideration, that such a thing should not be done precipitately. . . . While a prisoner here, they brought in a yeoman of the Castletown cavalry, whom they had just taken, and without allowing him more than ten minutes to call on the Lord, shot him in the street. Mr. Perry, the rebel commander at Gorey Camp, would give him no longer

time to prepare for eternity! 'The mercies of the wicked are cruel.'

"A few days after my being taken to Gorey, they stript me of a suit of black, and gave me a soldier's old jacket, waistcoat and small-clothes; they also took from me my hat, neckcloth and shoes; and having thus plundered me, they left me to meditate on what was likely to follow: all the prisoners were served the same way. Having thus stripped us, they led us forth to the camp to be shot. Providentially two days prior to this, Mr. Harvey, the commander-in-chief of the rebel forces in the county of Wexford, issued a proclamation from Carrigburne camp, one of the articles of which was, 'It is also resolved, that any person or persons who shall take upon him or them, to kill or murder any person or persons, burn any house, or commit any plunder, without special written orders from the commander-in-chief, shall suffer death.'

"Just as we were ranged on our knees, and our executioners in their appointed places, with pikes and musquets to put us all to death, a man came into the camp, with the above proclamation; which was immediately read, and proved the means, under God, of saving our lives. Nevertheless we were near being sacrificed by these blood-thirsty men; being so enraged with disappointment, they would hardly let us return to our prison alive. Some they stabbed, at others they fired: one man received five wounds from a pike, and had three ribs broken; another was shot through the shoulder; and I being arrayed with the soldier's

coat, was struck several times, and received a stab in the back, and after being thus abused we were ordered to the guard-house. . . .

" I cannot ascertain the number of rebels that were in the camp, which was so extensive that it covered many acres of ground. It was distressing to see no military force then in the country sufficient to engage them ; it also distressed me to see their colours flying, and to hear their drums and trumpets, not knowing where it would end. . . . God was indeed very kind to me here ; for the next morning they cut the hair off the prisoner's heads, and put pitched caps on them all ; but they meddled not with me ; though even a minister of the Church of England, who was a fellow prisoner, was served the same way. On Saturday the 9th of June, the whole body of the rebels prepared to attack Arklow ; and as they marched from the camp through the town, the guards thrust the prisoners half out of the windows, that the insurgents might see their heads shorn and pitched ; at which they shouted so loud, that it seemed to pierce the very skies. . . .

" Our bed in this place was only a truss of straw, and that bestowed with a very scanty hand ; which notwithstanding might have afforded some refreshment, only that it was swarming with vermin. Our food also was very scanty ; no man got as much in twenty-four hours as would suffice for one meal ; but this I say, they treated me with more attention than the rest of the prisoners."[1]

[1] Taylor, pp. 176–180.

" June 6.—Camolin Cavalry received one Guinea each Man from their Captain Earl Mount Norris, on account of their pay. At 10 o'clock the troops consisting of the Cavan Militia and the defeated Army at Tubberneering, commanded by Gen. Needham, marched from Wicklow to Arklow—burned some houses on and near the road—Ordered by the General to burn no more—his orders not strictly obeyed—a private of the Arklow Yeoman Infantry put under an arrest for burning a house contrary to orders. Within three miles of Arklow, observed some boats in the Offing, and by the help of glasses saw they were Men and Women—arrived at Arklow about five o'clock, and found the town almost destitute of inhabitants—were informed that as soon as they heard of the Army marching towards the town, they quit their habitations and took to boats, thinking that the Army would destroy them all. Ordered by Gen. Needham to come ashore, return to their habitations, and that he would protect them from the Army, which was much enraged—All the Spirituous Liquors in the town, put under requisition, lest the military would make to[o] free with it—a Court Martial called, and the Yeoman of Arklow Infantry, put on trial—sentenced for Execution, and on the Evening Parade brought out to suffer, but thro' the interference of Colonel Maxwell, he was pardoned—Col. Maxwell read the Articles of War to the Military and Yeomanry."

" June 7.—One file from the Dragoons and each of the Yeoman Cavalry Corps, ordered as an escort to Wicklow, with the Carriages in which the Cavan

Regiment came down. Patroles of Dragoons and Yeoman Cavalry sent out on Reconnoitreing Parties. Yeomanry began to draw Rations from Commissary's stores this day. Detatchments from the 5th & 9th Dragoons march into town this day."

On the 7th the rebel army left Gorey, and marched to attack Carnew, which Loftus had evacuated the day before. An encampment was at once formed on Kilcaven Hill, and part of the town set on fire, which Byrne sensibly calls a "useless retaliation."[1] When information of the reoccupation of Arklow came to hand the foolishness of this march became apparent, and leaving Carnew on the 8th the insurgents again encamped on Gorey Hill, preparatory to attacking the troops at Arklow.

"June 8.—The following Orders were issued this morning, and directed to be, (with all other Orders) entered in the Orderly-Book:

"'General Orders, Arklow, June 8, 1798.

"'As none of the Yeomanry Corps have given in Reports of the duty they have done the day before, excepting the Earl of Mount-Norris's troop, they are required to be more attentive in future to Orders. They are not on any account to ride their horses fast through the Street, nor are they to use their horses except when on Duty. The General requires more particular attention from the Yeomanry Corps on the Patroles, which he thinks and finds are neither

[1] Byrne, Vol. I., p. 88.

numerous nor frequent enough. Whenever a *particular* patrole is ordered during the day or night, a report is to be made immediately to the General. An Orderly from each Yeomanry Corps in town to attend at the General Quarters 'till the Major of Brigade of Yeomanry shall dismiss him. All Returns to be made to Captain Howard, Brigade Major of Yeomanry.'

"Two file from each Yeomanry Corps of Cavalry, with dispatches from Major Gen. Needham to Wicklow, from thence to be forwarded to Lord Castlereagh, Dublin Castle. A General Inspection of Yeomanry, ordered [to] take place this day at 12 o'clock—Corps to be on the Inspection ground at half-past eleven o'clock. The inspection took place at 12 o'clock, after which the several Cavalry Corps were ordered out on Reconnoitreing Parties.

"June 9.—From the Morning Parade, Patroling parties ordered to ride slowly on Arklow Rock Road, Coolgreny road, and the road leading to Poolahoney Wood, and remain 'till relieved by the Night Patroles. At 1 o'clock the Loyal Durham Regiment of Fencible Infantry, commanded by Col. Skerrit,[1] arrived in town,

[1] Colonel Skerrett, who succeeded the Marquis of Huntly in the command at Gorey. Gordon (p. 198) says that Colonel Skerrett "observed so strict a discipline, that nothing more was heard of military depredation." Musgrave (p. 437) gives the strength of the detachment of the Durham Fencibles as 300 effective men. In the list which he prints on the following page the number is given as 245 rank and file. The Dumbarton infantry of 105 rank and file also formed part of Skerrett's division, but no mention is made of the Gorey Yeoman Cavalry. Lecky (Vol. IV., p. 430) states that there were 360 Durham Fencibles. The same authority (p. 428) gives the total loyalist force as 1,500 or 1,600 effective men, and that of the insurgents at 25,000, 30,000, or even 34,000 men. General

and in an hour after the Gorey Yeoman Cavalry, commanded by Lieut. Woodroofe, marched in from Dublin. At 3 o'clock a Dragoon from the Rock Road galloped into town, and informed Gen. Needham that a crowd of Men who they (his party) supposed to be Rebels were approaching their post at the Rock. In a few minutes, the other patroles galloped into town with the same information, and shortly after the whole body of the Rebels from Gorey made their appearance. Two file of Dragoons dispatched with the intelligence to Wicklow. Dragoons and Yeoman Cavalry under the command of Col. Sir Watkin Wynne, ordered to take post on the sandy hills beyond the Bridge, but they were so exposed to the fire of the enemy, he ordered that they should take shelter in the vallies between the hills, 'till they would be ordered to make a Charge. Rebels set the houses in the Fishery[1] on fire. Cavalry ordered to Charge a body of Rebels who were advancing to the town by the Beech—compleatly routed them with slaughter, in which Captain [Thomas] Knox [Grogan] of the Castletown Yeoman Cavalry, and two of his Men were killed.

Needham estimated them at about 19,000 (Lecky, Vol. IV., p. 428). Musgrave says 25,000 (p. 440); Gordon 27,000 (p. 129); Kavanagh 20,000 (p. 183); Byrne 20,000 (p. 98). A like discrepancy exists with regard to the weapons of the rebels. Gordon asserts that they had nearly 5,000 men with firearms, and three serviceable pieces of artillery; Kavanagh gives 2,000 firearms, "many of which were out of order and of little use," 3,000 only had pikes, the remainder fighting with scythes, pitchforks and other farm implements. Byrne maintains that there were not 2,000 firelocks, and only between 3,000 and 4,000 "tolerably well mounted pikes."

[1] The lower part of the town.

Dragoons and Yeoman Cavalry took their former station, ordered to Charge again, and again returned to their station. Rebels beginning to retreat, in which they set fire to the dwelling house of the Rev. Edward Bayley, Rector of Arklow, and an active Magistrate, by which it was burned to the ground. At 8 o'clock the Rebels were completely routed.[1] Infantry stood to their arms 'till 4 next morning, Dragoons and Cavalry patroled 'till the same hour.

" June 10.—At 4 this morning the Troops were in part relieved from Duty, to refresh themselves and their horses—went to view the dead bodies, all of which had a horried appearance—one of the Slain was recognised to be Priest Murphy of Ballycanew ;[2] he was torn across the body, it was supposed by a cannister shot. Dead men and horses were lying in heaps in the fields, on the roads, and in the ditches. Orders given to the Suplementary Yeoman and Followers to remove the Dead bodies and bury them ; numbers taken in cars and thrown into the Sea. Two file from each detatchment of Dragoons and Yeoman Cavalry ordered with dispatches for Wicklow, Newtown Kennedy, Bray, Loughlinstown Camp, and Dublin. Detatchments from the Antrim Militia and 7th Dragoons

[1] Over 1,000 insurgents were killed in the battle of Arklow, according to the conservative estimate of General Needham, and but few on the loyalist side, including Captain Thomas Knox Grogan, who commanded the Castletown Yeoman Cavalry. The latter was a brother of Cornelius Grogan, a Wexford rebel who paid the full penalty for his misdeeds. Froude gives the most graphic description of the contest.—*See* Vol. III., pp. 480–482.

[2] Father Michael Murphy. Michael Redmond was also killed.

march into town from Rathdrum. Yeomanry paraded at 10, when the following Orders were read, and ordered to be Coppied by each Corps of Yeomanry in their Orderly Books :

" ' General Orders, Arklow, June 10, 1798.

" ' Major General Needham takes the earliest opportunity of returning his thanks to the Commissioned, non-Commissioned Officers and Privates of the several Yeomanry Corps, who he had the honour to command yesterday, for their cool and spirited conduct when in the front of a most cruel and ferocious enemy, and he hartily congratulates them on the happy issue of their meritorious exertions.

" ' Reconnoitreing parties sent out, with orders to act with caution, and not to advance to[o] far from town. The Military which arrived in town this morning ordered to return again to Rathdrum.' "

According to Miles Byrne, who was present, the battle of Arklow was lost by the rebels because there was no definite commander-in-chief, orders being issued by various men indiscriminately, and apparently with no thought of concerted action. Father Michael Murphy was certainly very conspicuous, and led his column with his usual daring, and John Hay,[1] Esmond

[1] Colonel John Hay, of the 10th Lancers, brother of Edward Hay the historian. Kavanagh (p. 309) asserts that after taking part in the defeat of Walpole at Clogh, he made his way to Dublin and rejoined his regiment. Kavanagh says he was assured of the fact by a nephew of Esmond Kyan. Harwood (p. 174) says that John Hay had been an officer in the French Army.

Kyan,[1] Dick Monk,[2] Thomas Dixon,[3] and William and Garret Byrne[4] were also present.[5] If Kavanagh is to be believed, Father John Murphy was of opinion that "Wexford ought to fight in defence of Wexford alone,"[6] and this is the reason why he did not accompany this band. The statement is supported by Taylor, who tells us that "Priest Murphy of Boolavogue met them retreating, and told them that he knew they would be defeated; yet they would not take his advice."[7] On the other hand, Byrne positively asserts that Father John played a prominent part in the field, and he waxes eloquent on the subject. "Father John Murphy," he notes, "apparently with the simplicity of a child, was a lion in the fight; in short he knew not, nor cared, nor feared danger, from the moment he was forced to take the field to save his life from the tyrants who had burned his house, his chapel, and all he possessed,

[1] Esmond Kyan, rebel captain of artillery. Youngest son of Howard Kyan, Esquire, of Mount Howard, Co. Wexford. He was wounded at the battle of Arklow.

[2] Richard Monaghan, alias Dick Monk, formerly a recruiting sergeant.

[3] Thomas Dixon, son of a publican of Castlebridge, near Wexford, and master of a vessel owned by his brother, who was a prosperous merchant. He was the most notorious of the many men who played a prominent part in the town of Wexford when it was in the hands of the rebels. His subsequent career is shrouded in mystery, but Kavanagh (p. 263 n.) states that Dixon fled to America and died many years afterwards.

[4] William Michael Byrne (1773–1798). Formerly a yeoman in the Mount Kennedy Corps. Executed the 28th July, 1798. Garret Byrne (*circa* 1774–*circa* 1829). He eventually surrendered to General Moore, and was perpetually exiled.

[5] Taylor, p. 89.

[6] Kavanagh, p. 322.

[7] Taylor, p. 97.

THE REV. JOHN MURPHY, COADJUTOR-PRIEST OF BOULAVOGUE
From the collection of Mr. A. M. Broadley,

on the 26th of May: and this day at Arklow he was seen in every critical situation encouraging the men and exposing himself to the greatest danger, wherever he thought his presence could be useful. He was so well known that the moment he was perceived there was a general burst of joy and enthusiasm throughout the ranks of the army. Thus it may be fairly said of Father John, that he contributed most powerfully to the success of the day at Arklow." [1]

From the above evidence we think that Byrne's memory must have failed him when he sat down to describe the battle of Arklow, for his *Memoirs* were not written until years after the event. Teeling, Musgrave, Harwood, Gordon, Hay, Maxwell, and Lecky make no mention of Father John, and Kavanagh positively asserts that he was at Castletown.[2] Froude's reference is inconclusive.[3]

Badly equipped to meet an army well provided with firearms and artillery, the pikemen were mown down before they had an opportunity of showing their skill at close quarters. Almost in despair, the rebels cried, "Boys, we have no one to lead us." Whereupon Father Michael, whose bâton seems to have been a riding-whip, although at the beginning of the battle he bore a green flag with a white cross and the motto "Death or Liberty,"[4] seized a pike and led a charge Kavanagh speaks of him on the authority of an eye-witness as falling "literally riddled with bullets"

[1] Miles Byrne, Vol. I., p. 102.
[2] Kavanagh, p. 186 n.
[3] Froude, Vol. III., p. 479-82.
[4] Lecky, Vol. IV., p. 430.

before he reached the enemy's lines.[1] The death of their hero so disheartened the insurgents that they began to retreat immediately. "For my own part," Byrne remarks, "I never could ascertain who it was that gave the order to our army to march back to our camp at Gorey Hill, at the moment the battle was gained and the King's forces quitting the town and retreating on the road to Wicklow. The Durham Fencibles that were left to cover this retreat only waited till it became dark to begin their retrograde march unperceived. . . . How melancholy to think a victory so dearly bought should have been abandoned—for which no good or plausible motive could ever be assigned." [2]

It is generally understood that there was a hesitancy on the part of General Needham, which was amply amended by the dashing bravery of Colonel Skerrett, the second in command.[3] Byrne himself admits that the rebels had practically exhausted their ammunition, but thinks that if fires had been lighted, the enemy would have evacuated the town, believing another attack imminent. He refers to the King's troops as "in a state of disorder and panic struck," which is drawing the long-bow too taut.

Another rebel who rendered good service was Esmond Kyan, who held the rank of captain and commanded

[1] Several of the dead priest's relatives carried his body from the field to Castle Ellis churchyard for interment (Kavanagh, p. 307).

[2] Byrne, Vol. I., pp. 103–104.

[3] *Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation.* By Sir Jonah Barrington, p. 448.

what little artillery the rebels possessed, but Anthony Perry was the nominal leader.[1] With true Hibernian humour Kyan remarked when his artificial arm was taken off by a cannon-shot, "My loose timbers are flying—God bless the mark!—and now for the right arm of the British line."

An unpleasant incident is narrated by Taylor as having taken place after the battle of Arklow, and it has been copied from him by most of the contemporary historians. It is to the effect that Murphy's head was struck off by order of Lord Mount Norris, and his body thrown into a burning house. "Let his body go where his soul is!" the Earl is reported to have said.[2] The present writers are unable either to contradict or affirm the truth of the story, and can only hope with Gordon that "the writer was misinformed, and that the noble earl, remarkable for his liberality to Romanists, was not the author of this act."[3] Musgrave makes no mention of the matter, while Hay thinks it probable "that his lordship was induced, by this *coup de main*, to prove to the world that he had not, though he was supposed to have been, a friend to Catholics."[4] It is also asserted that some of the Ancient Britons mangled the priest's remains in a most atrocious manner.

Had the honours of the day rested with the rebels, a march on Dublin would have been made immediately,

[1] Taylor, p. 88.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 96.
[3] Gordon, p. 213.
[4] Hay, p. 182.

and so serious was the situation in the metropolis that the Lord-Lieutenant sent his wife and children to England, an example followed by many of the bishops and other notabilities. Writing from Dublin on the 1st June, Lake had already sounded a warning to Government by asserting that "the insurrection throughout the whole of this part of the country being so general, and appearing rather to increase than to subside, it is certainly highly desirable that as many troops as can be spared from other service should be sent to reinforce the army here, and that with as much despatch as possible, effectually to disconcert the plans of the rebels, and disperse them before they become more formidable from numbers, or acquire confidence from any other circumstance."[1] Now that the serious aspect of the rebellion was obvious, the English authorities began to wake up, and in a private communication from Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh, dated "Duke Street, Friday, June 8, 1798. 30m. past 10, P.M.," the latter is informed that "in addition to the reinforcement of 3000 infantry and 1000 cavalry, already under orders, and in part, I hope, arrived in Ireland, his Majesty's ministers have this day advised the King to send 5000 more infantry (2000 of the Guards) *without delay* to such parts of the kingdom as his Excellency, in his despatches of to-day, seems to point out as standing most in need of reinforcement, viz., the Guards to Waterford, embarking at Portsmouth, (I hope, on Wednesday or Thursday next) and the remaining 3000 from Scotland to the

[1] *Castlereagh Correspondence*, Vol. I., p. 213.

North of Ireland."[1] "There is no doubt an intention to attempt a rising within the city," Camden writes to Pelham on the 11th, "The country is lost unless a very large reinforcement of troops is landed."[2] In corroboration of the designs of the insurgents on Dublin, a note to an acquaintance residing there is alleged to have been found on the body of Father Michael Murphy, and is printed by Musgrave :[3]

"Gorey, 6th June.

"Friend Houston,

"Great events are ripening. In a few days we shall meet. The first fruits of your regeneration must be a tincture of poison and pike, in the metropolis, against hereticks. This is a tribunal for such opinions. Your talents must not be buried as a judge : Your sons must be steeled with fortitude against heresy, then we shall do ; and you shall shine in a higher sphere. We shall have an army of brave republicans, one hundred thousand, with fourteen pieces of cannon, on Tuesday, before Dublin ; your heart will beat high at the news. You will rise with a proportionable force.

"Yours ever,

"M. MURPHY.

"Decipher, B. I. K. M. Q. Y. * * * "

Grattan's son, in his biography of his distinguished father, tells a curious story usually overlooked by the historians of the rebellion. According to him, "Two of the chiefs had rode early one morning to a respect-

[1] *Castlereagh Correspondence*, Vol. I., p. 215.
[2] *Pelham MSS.* cited by Lecky, Vol. IV., pp. 432–433.
[3] Musgrave, p. 435.

able and wealthy farmer in the county of Wexford, in order to induce him to join them. During their conversation they disclosed their plan of advance along the coast of Dublin. Except at Arklow, there was scarce any stronghold on the line; the way lay open along the sea, and the march upon Dublin would have been easily accomplished, as the military were mostly in a distant part of the country, and the insurgent force coming from Wexford exceeded 30,000 men. The brother of the person from whom I got the anecdote, happening to be present, concealed himself in the farmer's house, through fear of detection, and overheard the conversation. On the departure of the chiefs and their party, he wrote out a statement of the occurrence, secured it inside his shoe, and proceeded with every expedition across the country, till he delivered it to the next military commander. Upon the receipt of this intelligence in Dublin, every possible exertion was made, and every sort of soldier, on every sort of vehicle, was dispatched from the metropolis."[1]

"The battle of Arklow was the last in which the rebels had any real chance of success," says Lecky, "and from this time the rebellion rapidly declined."[2] The defeated Irish army fell back on Gorey Hill, from which centre many a marauding expedition set out. Some of them were successful, while others fell into the hands of the King's troops and were summarily dealt with.

[1] *Life of Grattan.* By his Son. Vol. IV., p. 395. Cited by Harwood, p. 186.

[2] Lecky, Vol. IV., p. 431.

We must now rapidly follow in the footsteps of the insurgents under Bagenal Harvey. From June 1st to the 4th they were on Carrickbyrne, whence they had moved from the Three Rocks, being reinforced from many quarters, but losing much valuable time in the process. The unwieldy mob got out of hand, for Harvey was by no means a strong personality, and burnings and plunderings were of daily occurrence. The awful orgie at Scullabogue is too well known to require recapitulation, and may be compared to the savage barbarities of the Black Hole of Calcutta. However, on the 4th an advance was made to Corbet Hill, about a mile and a half from the wall-surrounded town of New Ross. The little loyalist garrison, under Major-General Ross,[1] was reinforced that evening by the Dublin County Militia, commanded by Lord Mountjoy[2]; but the discrepancy in numbers was enormous, for the total force amounted to about 1,400 men of the 5th Dragoons, the Clare, Donegal, and Meath Militia, the Midlothian Fencibles, some English artillery, and the Militia already mentioned.[3] The strength of the rebels was some 30,000 men. Early in the morning of the 5th the following communication was sent to the commander of the King's forces, the unlucky messenger being shot by the guard, although he was under cover of a flag of truce. For

[1] Robert Ross (1766–1814), served in Holland 1799; in Italy 1806; in Spain 1808; in Walcheren Expedition 1809; in the Peninsular 1812, and in the American War 1814, when he captured Washington.

[2] Rt. Hon. Luke Gardiner (1745–1798), created Lord Mountjoy 1789; Viscount 1795.

[3] Lecky, Vol. IV., p. 388.

this act of treason there can be no excuse, indeed, Gordon asserts that it was the rule to break this, the most humane of the articles of war :[1]

" Sir,

" As a friend to humanity, I request you will surrender the town of New Ross to the Wexford forces, now assembled against it ; your resistance will but provoke rapine and plunder to the ruin of the innocent. Flushed with victory, the Wexford forces, now insurmountable and irresistible, will not be controlled if they meet with resistance. To prevent the total ruin of all property in the town, I urge you to a speedy surrender—a surrender which you will be forced to in a few hours, with loss and bloodshed, as you are surrounded on all sides ; your answer is required in a few hours. Citizen Furlong comes with this letter, and will bring the answer.

" I am Sir, &c., &c.

" B. B. Harvey, M.G.[2]

" *Camp, Corbet Hill, half past* 3 *o'clock,*

" *Tuesday, 5th June,* 1798."

The battle began about two hours after the above letter was written, and every inch of ground was fiercely contested by both parties.[3] The story of the fight is vividly told by one of the participants :

[1] Gordon, p. 118.

[2] Taylor, p. 55.

[3] The official letters quoted by Lecky (Vol. IV., pp. 399–400) testify to this fact, and it is significant that Colonel Crawford wrote that " The militia behaved with spirit, but are quite ungovernable."—*Ibid.*, p. 400.

"The rebels advanced, driving before them all the black cattle they could collect through the country, to disorder our ranks; which was in some measure prevented, by a few discharges of grape-shot. The action was commenced by the 4th flank battalion; indeed such a close well-directed fire I never before saw. I was an idle spectator for upwards of two hours and a half. At near seven o'clock, the army began to retreat in all directions. I had the honor to command a six-pounder fieldpiece. The rebels pouring in like a flood, artillery was called for, and human blood began to flow down the street. Though hundreds were blown to pieces by our grape-shot, yet thousands behind them, being intoxicated from drinking during the night, and void of fear, rushed upon us. The cavalry were now ordered to make a charge through them, when a terrible carnage ensued: they were cut down like grass; but the pike-men being called to the front, and our swords being too short to reach them, obliged the horse to retreat, which put us in some confusion. We kept up the action till about half past eight; and it was maintained with such obstinacy on both sides, that it was doubtful who would keep the field. They then began to burn and destroy the town—it was on fire in many places in about fifteen minutes. By this time the insurgents advanced as far as the main-guard, where there was a most bloody conflict; but with the assistance of two ship-guns placed in the street, we killed a great number of them, and beat them back for some time. The Dublin County regiment, headed by their colonel, Lord

Mountjoy, now made another attack on the rebels, and the action being revived in all quarters of the town with double fury, many heroes fell, and among them the brave Mountjoy: this so exasperated his regiment, that they fought like furies, and now indeed was the scene truly bloody. Our forces for the third time being overpowered by the weight of such a body pouring down upon us, we retreated beyond the bridge, when General Johnson[1] came galloping up, crying, 'Soldiers, I will lay my bones this day in Ross, will you let me lie alone?'

"Major Vesey, of the Dublin County, the next in command to Lord Mountjoy, again led his men over the bridge, exhorting them to revenge for the loss of their colonel. The whole brigade (except some who fled to Waterford) being led on by General Johnson,—as brave a commander as ever drew sword—were determined to retake the town, to conquer or to die. Again we opened a tremendous fire on the rebels, which was as fiercely returned. We retook the cannon which had been captured from the King's forces in a former engagement, and turned them on the enemy. The gun I had the honor to command being called to the main-guard, shocking was it to see the dreadful carnage that was there; it continued for half an hour obstinate and bloody: the thundering of cannon shook the town, the very windows were shivered in pieces with the dreadful concussion. I believe six hundred rebels lay dead in the main-street; they

[1] Sir Henry Johnson (1748–1835), first baronet (1818); served in American War.

would often come within a few yards of the guns. One fellow ran up, and taking off his hat and wig, thrust them up the cannon's mouth the length of his arm, calling to the rest, 'blood-an-ounds, my boys, come take her now, she's stopt, she's stopt.' The action was doubtful and bloody from four in the morning to four in the evening, when they began to give way in all quarters, and shortly after fled in every direction; leaving behind them all their cannon, baggage, provisions, and several hogsheads of wine, whiskey, brandy, &c. which we spilled, lest they should have been poisoned. It was past five before we finally routed them. The computation of their dead, was, as near as I can furnish you,

"Three thousand four hundred buried.

"Sixty-two cart-loads thrown into the river.

"Sixty cart-loads taken away by the rebels.

"Some of them have since acknowledged, that those cars were brought to carry away the plunder of the town. In their flight, several dead bodies were thrown into the houses which were on fire, and consumed, so that it is almost impossible to ascertain their numbers: but from every account that I could learn, seven thousand rebels[1] lost their lives on this day! I know soldiers that fired one hundred and twenty rounds of ball, and I fired twenty-one rounds of cannister-shot with the field-piece I commanded."[2]

[1] "Some imagine the numbers slain did not amount to more than two thousand two hundred, exclusive of numbers who crawled away from the battle, and afterwards died of their wounds."—Note by Taylor, p. 59. According to the same authority 174 officers and men were returned as killed or missing (pp. 61–62).

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 56–59.

When Harvey heard of the saturnalia at Scullabogue, he is stated to have remarked on his unenviable position in no uncertain terms. "I see now," he said, "my folly in embarking in this cause with these people; if they succeed, I shall be murdered by them—if they are defeated, I shall be hanged."[1] He at once understood the necessity of giving emphatic instructions as to the future conduct of the lawless band he had the misfortune to command, and also of massing his now depleted forces. On the 6th June he accordingly issued the following Proclamation from his headquarters at Carrickbyrne Camp, copies being sent broadcast throughout Wexford.

"At a meeting of the General and several Officers of the United Army of the county of Wexford, the following Resolutions have been agreed upon:

"RESOLVED, that the Commander-in-chief shall send guards to certain baronies, for the purpose of bringing in all those they shall find lurking and delaying at home or elsewhere; and if any resistance be given to those guards so to be sent by the commanding officer's orders, it is desired and ordered that such persons so giving resistance, shall be liable to be put to death by the guards, who are to bear a commission for that purpose; and all such persons so to be found loitering and delaying at home, when brought in by the guards, shall be tried by a court-martial, appointed and chosen from amongst the commanders of all the

[1] Taylor, p. 71.

different corps, and not to depart therefrom under pain of death, unless authorised to quit by written orders from the Commander-in-chief for that purpose.[1]

" It is also ordered, that a guard shall be kept at the rear of the different armies, with orders to shoot all persons who shall fly or desert from any engagement ; and these orders to be taken notice of by all officers commanding in such engagements.

" All men refusing to obey their superior officers, to be tried by a court-martial, and punished according to their sentence.

" It is also ordered, that all men who shall attempt to leave their respective quarters when they have been halted by the Commander-in-chief, shall suffer death, unless they shall have leave from their officers for so doing.

" It is also ordered by the Commander-in-chief, that all persons who shall have stolen or taken away any horses, shall immediately bring in such horses to the camp at head-quarters ; otherwise, any horse that shall be seen or found in the possession of any person to whom he does not belong, shall, on being convicted thereof suffer death ;[2] and any person or persons, who shall take upon them to *kill* or *murder* any person or

[1] Maxwell gives a slightly different version of this paragraph, as follows : " Resolved, that all officers shall immediately repair to their respective quarters, and remain with their different corps, and not depart therefrom under pain of death, unless authorized to quit by written orders from the Commander-in-chief for that purpose " (p. 126 n.).

[2] " Rather the *thief* was to have been put to death."—Note by Taylor, p. 72.

persons,[1] burn any house, or commit any plunder, without special written orders from the Commander-in-chief, shall suffer death.

"By order of
"B. B. HARVEY, *Commander-in-chief.*
"FRANCIS BRIEN, *Sec. & Adjt.*" [2]

"Head-Quarters, Carrickbyrne Camp,
"June 6th, 1798."

Harvey is to be commended for his humanity, but it cost him his position, which he probably did not regret. So great was the outcry against him that he was practically forced to resign his command on the 7th June in favour of Father Philip Roche, an Anak of a man, with iron nerve and indomitable resolution. Not that the former was deficient in personal courage by any means, but his easy-going nature was not a quality to stand him in good stead with a mob unused to warfare, and not particularly keen on obeying orders. "There is no restraining them," Harvey writes pathetically to a Mr. Glascott two days later, and no man ever penned truer words.[3]

The insurgents again made their way back to Carrickbyrne, but on the 7th June they posted themselves on Slyeeve-Keelter, some distance further away from New Ross. With the idea of securing the river and thus having access by water with their comrades of the counties of Wexford, Waterford, and Kilkenny,

[1] "Person or prisoner."—*See* Maxwell, p. 126 n.
[2] Taylor, pp. 71–73. The name should read Breen.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 76.

they kept up a constant fire on the small gunboats which were sent to destroy the shipping so that it should not fall into the hands of the insurgents. On one occasion a gunboat ran aground, and a desperate conflict ensued between the Irishmen and the crew. Fortunately several other gunboats came up and effectually towed the vessel off. Four of her crew were killed and several wounded. Roche and his men remained on Slyeeve-Keelter until the 10th inst., when, after arranging for a guard to remain, the majority of them marched to Lacken Hill, within two miles of the ill-fated town. Here we must leave them making preparations for another assault, which they hoped would be the prelude to their marching on Waterford, ten miles distant.

CHAPTER VI

VINEGAR HILL

"I thought of the battle of Vinegar Hill, but not with interest; with sorrow, rather, and contempt; one of the ten times ten thousand futile, fruitless battles this brawling, unreasonable people has fought; the saddest of distinctions to them among peoples."—CARLYLE.

THE hopes of opening a communication with their confederates of Wicklow and Kildare having been dissipated by the loyalist army at Arklow, the main army of the rebels retreated to Gorey Hill, anxiously awaiting for "something to turn up" in the shape of their French allies.[1] Here they remained until the 12th June, when they pushed on to Limerick Hill, to the north of Gorey.

"JUNE 11.—A Court Martial for the trial of Rebel Prisoners called—sit, and three men receive sentence to be executed, which took place in an hour after the passing of sentence. A Serjeant and 12 [men] of Camolin Cavalry ordered to patrole from 11 'till 6 o'clock, from hence to Coolgreeny and back. Saw nothing particular, but from the unpleasant smell,

[1] Gordon, p. 135.

must conclude there were numbers of the Rebels lying dead in the fields. Brought in Ignatius Redmond of Coolgreny, Innkeeper, a Prisoner. Commanding Officers of Yeomanry to give in Returns of the strength of their respective Corps at to-morrow morning's Parade.

" June 12.—

" *Return of Camolin Yeomanry Cavalry, June* 12.

Cap.	Lieut.	Serj.	Corp.	Trum.	R & F	Horses
1	1	4	4	1	56	68

" Thos Nesbit, Perm. S.

" *Return of Loyal Mount-Norris Rangers, June* 12.

Cap.	Lieut.	Serj.	Corp.	Drum.	R & F.	Attd	Servts
1	1	2	2	0	40	4	3

" E. Dockrill, Sergt.

" Two file from each Yeoman Corps of Cavalry on a patrole towards Tarah hill and Castletown ; got property of the late Captain Knox[1] in a Cabbin near the latter place, and brought the Woman of the House and her daughter in Prisoners, both of whom proved to be in the household of the Captain before the Rebellion. After a little Chastisement, they were ordered by Gen. Needham to be discharged. Ignatius Redmond of Coolgreny, brought in a Prisoner by the Patrole of yesterday, released, and a file of Yeomen ordered to put him past the out-posts.

" June 13.—A Private of the Ballakeen Yeoman

[1] Captain Thomas Knox Grogan.

Cavalry who was taken prisoner by the Rebels near Gorey on the 4th June, came in this day with a Flag of Truce from the Rebels. Taken into custody, put on trial, sentenced to be executed to-morrow at 6 o'clock. Orderly Serjeants to attend at Mr Cainac's beyond the Bridge, where the General and other Officers are to dine at 4 o'clock. Two Yeoman Subalterns taken into Custody on a Treasonable Charge, two file from each detatchment of Dragoons and Yeoman Cavalry ordered to escort them to Wicklow. Captain Colclough of the Cavan Regiment ordered to accompany them in the Carriage to Dublin Castle.

" June 14.—Ballakeen Yeoman pardoned, but detained a Prisoner. All returns of Yeomanry to be in future made to Charles Underwood, Esq. Brigade Major. Four file from Dragoons and Yeoman Cavalry to assist Commissary Ashe in bringing in Forrage for the use of the Military Horses, the Servants and followers of all Yeoman Officers to attend, or else the Rations they have been receiving will be withheld. Reconnotreing parties ordered on the different Avenues leading to the town. Two file from each Yeoman Cavalry to escort four prisoners to Wicklow.

" June 15.—A large party of Cavalry, consisting of detatchments of the fifth Dragoons, Antient British Dragoons, Camolin, and Arklow Yeomanry, ordered on a Reconnotreing party towards the Gold Mine, and from thence to the village of Aughrim—perceived the country quite destitute of inhabitants, and supposed them to have joined the main body of the Rebels. At Aughrim the Patrole was informed that a Rebel

Camp was formed at Mount Pleasant,[1] a few miles distant, and that another Camp was formed at Ballymanus, not far from the village. Returned to Arklow by Clone, Ballycogne, and near the Copper Mine Rocks, arrived in town about 4 o'clock. A file from each of the Yeomanry Dragoons, with prisoners to Wicklow, to be forwarded from thence to the Guard Vessel lying at the Pidgeon House in Dublin Bay.

" June 16.—Intelligence was this morning brought into town that Mr Coates's house near Aughrim was

[1] According to Miles Byrne (Vol. I., p. 113), who accompanied this section of the rebel army, it was not until the 16th that an encampment was formed on Mount Pleasant, near Tinnehely, Co. Wicklow, by some of the insurgents who had been stationed previously on Limerick Hill. He mentions some skirmishing on the 15th in which several loyalist soldiers were taken prisoners. It was at Mount Pleasant that the chiefs received newspapers a month old announcing that Napoleon Bonaparte had been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Army of England, ostensibly destined to invade that country and Ireland. In reality the flower of the troops was at that moment on the high seas, but sailing towards the East. The intelligence caused consternation and difference of opinion. Tinnehely was taken by the insurgents on the 17th with considerable bloodshed, but the rebel army, which had now made Garret Byrne its commander, retreated on the 19th to Kilcaven Hill, two miles from Carnew. The timely arrival of reinforcements under Lieutenant-General Dundas at Hacketstown encouraged the loyalist troops to attempt an attack on Kilcaven, especially as Loftus also came up with them, but after some fighting, Lake, who was in supreme command, thought it advisable to retire to Carnew. On the night of the 20th Garret Byrne and his men set out for Vinegar Hill, which was reached the following evening. Here a general concentration was taking place, owing to the failure at Ross, the rebels there falling back on Wexford. Those who had remained on Gorey Hill retired to Corrigrua, and from thence to Vinegar Hill (see *post*, p. 148 n.), Major-General Needham then being on the way to attack them, but a few went to Ask Hill, as noted below.

last night burned by the Rebels. Yeomanry received orders to be ready for an inspection at 12 o'clock. Inspection took place by Brigade Major Underwood. The following was ordered to be filed :

" ' General Orders. Arklow, June 16, 1798.

" ' Complaints having been made to Major General Needham that the Patroling parties of Dragoons and Yeoman Cavalry have hitherto conducted themselves in a manner inconsistent with their duty as Soldiers, he assures them that if complaints of the like nature are advanced against them in future, they shall be punished in a most examplary manner.

" CHARLES UNDERWOOD, *Brigade Major.*

" After inspection patroles sent out to Reconnoitre, &c. Two Rebels tried by Court Martial, and immediately executed. A Serjeant and 12 [file] from each detatchment of Cavalry, to patrole from 9 o'clock, 'till relieved by another party from Morning Parade. Report—The Patrole of the Rock Road could perceive a very large fire on the Hill of Ask,[1] near Gorey, which they supposed was lighted by the Rebels."

[1] " This post," says Gordon, " had been so thinned by perpetual desertions, that not more than about a hundred men fit for action were then remaining in it, and these without a leader. . . . About half of the rebel warriors fled with precipitation at the approach of the cavalry ; while the rest of them, stripping to their shirts, that they might be more expedite for the business, ran full speed to charge the cavalry with their pikes : but the latter avoided the attack, and retreated to Arklow with expedition. Immediately after this the country about Gorey was completely evacuated by the rebels, to the no small joy of many loyalist families, who, by the sudden and unexpected victory over Walpole, had been prevented from escaping, and on whom the enemy had been living at free quarter."—Gordon, pp. 137–138.

General Lake had now perfected the plan by means of which he hoped to deal a crushing blow to the rebel cause. The following instructions issued by him on the 16th June are so concise, and show the position in a nut-shell, that further comment is unnecessary :

" General Dundas will be directed to move on the seventeenth to Hacketstown, and to issue his orders to General Loftus at Tullow, to unite his force with him on the eighteenth at Carnew.

" General Needham, to move at three o'clock, a.m. on the nineteenth to Gorey ; General Dundas having sent a strong patrol under General Loftus from Carnew, at six o'clock on the same morning to Grove's Bridge, four or five miles on the road to Gorey, to support General Needham, in case he should meet with resistance at Limerick Hill or at Gorey, and to communicate to General Dundas General Needham's situation.

" General Johnson, on the nineteenth, at four o'clock, a.m. to move to Old Ross, and unite with General Moore[1] in driving the rebels from Carrickbyrne Hill. He will take up his position that day near Old Ross, and send a strong patrol to scour the country towards the Black-stair mountains, in junction with Sir James Duff.[2] This movement will require a very particularly concerted arrangement between General Johnson and

[1] Major-General Sir John Moore (1761–1809). The hero of Corunna, in which battle he received his death-wound, the 16th January, 1809. Moore rendered valuable service a few years after the Rebellion as commander of Shorncliffe camp, where he trained the light infantry regiments which became so famous in the Peninsular War.

[2] Major-General Sir James Duff (1752–1839). M.P. for Banff 1784–1789.

Sir James Duff. The patrols to return to their respective corps on the same day.

" Sir Charles Asgill, on the eighteenth, will occupy Grove's Bridge, Borris and Graignamanagh, and will remain in those positions until the twentieth, three p.m. when he will return, unless he shall receive orders to the contrary.

" Lieutenant-general Dundas, on the twentieth, will march to Ballycarney Bridge, keeping the east side of the Slaney to Scarawalsh Bridge, to arrive there at twelve at noon.

" Sir James Duff will also move on the twentieth, by the road on the west side of the Slaney to Scarawalsh Bridge, where he will arrive at twelve o'clock.

" General Needham, on the twentieth, will move from Gorey to Oulart, to be there at twelve o'clock.

" General Loftus. The corps from Grove's Bridge, will move on the twentieth, through Camolin and Ferns, and unite with General Dundas at Scarawalsh Bridge, at twelve o'clock.

" General Moore, to land on the eighteenth at Ballyhack Ferry, and on the nineteenth, he will move at three o'clock, a.m. to Foulkes's Mill, and unite with General Johnson in driving the rebels from Carrickbyrne Hill. He will take up his position that night at Foulkes's Mill, securing the escape of the rebels between that and Clonmines.

" General Johnson, on the twentieth, will move with his column to Ballymacus Bridge, either to unite in the attack on Enniscorthy, if necessary, or prevent their escape in that direction.

"Should the rebels have evacuated Enniscorthy and Vinegar Hill, the columns under General Dundas and Sir James Duff will take up their position that day in front of Enniscorthy; and General Johnson will at the same time receive orders to take a position on the great road from Enniscorthy to Taghmon.

"General Moore, in this case, on the twentieth, will move from Foulkes's Mill, and take post at Taghmon, still securing the country between Taghmon and Clonmines.

"But should the enemy maintain their position at Enniscorthy, the attack will be made on the twenty-first at day-light, by the columns under General Dundas and Sir James Duff, and General Needham moving from Oulart.

"The general forward movement and investment of Wexford will take place on the twenty-first, when the several columns will be so united as to receive directions as circumstances may point out.

"Gun-boats. Orders are to be sent to the naval commanders to station their gun-boats and armed vessels in Wexford harbour early in the morning of the twenty-first, to co-operate in such manner as may be necessary for the attack of the town, with the gun-boats from Waterford, which will be directed to support General Moore and the corps at Clonmines on the nineteenth."[1]

"June 17.—A Serjeant and 6 file from each detatchment of Dragoons and Yeoman Cavalry, with Subal-

[1] Musgrave, pp. 473–474.

terns, to patrole thro' Coolgreny and on towards Ask Hill, to learn what was the nature of the fire the Rock Patrole perceived there last night. On the advance of the Patrole a number of the Rebels on the Hill fled towards Gorey for the purpose (as they supposed) of giving intelligence to their associates, whilst another party advanced [on] the Patrole for the purpose of attacking them. The Patrole retreated to Arklow with expedition and reported. The same Patrole, each carrying an Infantry Man, again advanced towards the Hill, but by the help of Glasses, could perceive that the Rebels had totally evacuated it. Marched back again to Arklow.

"June 18.—Two file from each detatchment of Yeoman Cavalry ordered to assist the Commissary in bringing in Forrage for the Military Horses. The following was ordered to be filed :

"'General Orders. Arklow. June 18, 1798.

"'Major General Needham directs that the Officers commanding Yeomanry Corps may pay particular attention to have the daily Orders fully read and explained at parade every evening to their Men, and that to such Men as may happen to be absent the Officers will be responsible for their being communicated at the first opportunity.

"'CHARLES UNDERWOOD, *B.M.*'

"At half past three the following Orders were issued :

"'Gen : Orders, Arklow, June 18, 1798—3 o'clock, P.M.

"'The Commanders of Yeomanry are to send a proper Officer immediately to the Commissary to settle their Regimental Accounts. They are also to attend with a non-Commissioned Officer and 6 privates to receive from the Commissary's Stores a sufficient quantity of Camp Equipage, and every other necessary for an immediate March. The Garrison to move towards Gorey to-morrow morning at 4 o'clock.

"'C. UNDERWOOD, *B. Major.*

"'Garrison to parade, and be compleatly equiped for Marching, at 3 o'clock tomorrow morning. No Cavalry Patrole this night, but Infantry to mount double Sentrys.'[1]

" June 19.—At two o'clock this morning the Drums and Bugles sounded for a General Parade, and at 3 o'clock the entire Garrison appeared under arms, and compleatly ready for a march. At 4 the following Troops under the Command of Major Gen. Needham, (Cavan Battallion, Defeated Army at Tubberneering, Durham Fencible Infantry, one Company excepted), the detatchments of 5th—9th—and Antient British Dragoons, and an Officer and 10 file from each Yeoman Cavalry Corps, marched on their route to Gorey, taking with them the Ballakeen Yeoman as a Prisoner, and leaving the above Company of Durham Fencibles, Arklow Yeoman Infantry, the Loyal Mount Norris Yeoman Infantry, together with the remaining part of the Gorey, Coolgreny, Castletown, Camolin, and

[1] According to Musgrave (p. 475) the rebels on Limerick Hill left for Kilcaven Hill on the 18th.

North and South Yeoman Cavalry, to garrison the town, all to be under the command of Captain Holmes of the Durham Fencibles. Ordered—'that all Expresses to the Army on their march, and when they arrive at their destined place, must remain with their respective troops unless ordered to the contrary.' At 9 o'clock, a Serjeant and 6 file of North Arklow Yeoman Cavalry, as an escort with Lord Wicklow 'till he joins the Marching Army, the escort to return. At 10 o'clock, 1 file of Camolin Cavalry with dispatches for Gen. Needham, not to return except by Orders. At 12, two file of Gorey Cavalry with dispatches for Gen. Needham; and at 3 o'clock 2 file of Coolgreny Cavalry with other dispatches for Lieut. Gen. Lake and General Needham, not to return except by Orders. From the weak state of the town, it was judged necessary to have constant patroles, and those patroles to consist of two file each, to patrole no further than one mile from any entrance to the town, and to act with as much caution and regularity as possible.[1]

"June 20.—The 2 file of Gorey Cavalry who were dispatched express to General Needham yesterday, returned this morning with Orders to Cap. Holmes[2] and directions to Lieut. Gordon and his party of Gorey Cavalry to march immediately for Gorey, where, on their arrival, they would find an Officer to command, and a force with which they were to unite. Gorey

[1] On the approach of the army the rebels remaining on Gorey Hill at once abandoned their camp and made for Corrigrua, where the night was spent. The 21st saw them at Vinegar Hill (*see* Taylor, p. 115, and *ante*, p. 141 n.).

[2] Of the Durham regiment.

Cavalry marched for Gorey at 11 o'clock.[1] Patroles sent out on Reconnoitreing parties—returned safely. Two file of Wicklow Cavalry brought dispatches for Gen. Needham, which was instantly forwarded by one file from each Yeoman Corps of Cavalry. One file of Gorey Cavalry brought in dispatches from Gen. Needham, which was forwarded to Rathdrum by 2 file of Castletown Cavalry."

In order that our picture may be complete we must fill in the details of the rebels under Philip Roche, whom we left at Lacken Hill.[2] On the 12th June a division attacked the little town of Borris, Co. Carlow. There it was repulsed by men of the Donegal Militia and the Borris Yeomanry under Walter Kavanagh, Esq., after having done considerable mischief, and driven back to Lacken Hill. Roche applied to Wexford for reinforcements, and did not receive them, an equivocal reply being returned:

" June 16th, 1798.

" Dear Citizen,

" We shall at all times be anxious to comply with your wishes; we have before us a message from Citizen Hughes, expressing your wish to have all the

[1] On their arrival the seventeen men found no military in the town, and Hay (p. 248) asserts that they then " scoured the country round, and killed great numbers in their houses, besides all the stragglers they met, most of whom were making the best of their way home unarmed from the insurgents, who were then believed to be totally discomfited." Gordon (p. 156) says that about fifty were killed. We shall see in the following chapter how dearly the yeomen paid for their intrepidity.

[2] See *ante*, p. 137.

men in Forth and Bargy in your camp: taking that demand in its full extent, we cannot comply with it, there are many reasons against it; for instance, the protection of the coast, provisions, &c. We have, however, now issued orders, desiring all unmarried men to repair to camp immediately: we did so before, but they were not fully obeyed: at the present time particular obedience will be enforced, and we trust you will shortly find at your camp a number of fresh young fellows, as well appointed and provided as our best efforts can accomplish; and we trust you will find in them the means of gratifying your wishes on the subject. We wish you every success in our glorious cause.

"Health and fraternity.

"By order of the Council,

"NICHOLAS GRAY, *Sec.*[1]

"*Council Chamber, Wexford.*

"P.S. The appearance of the armed vessels off our coast, will enforce the necessity of keeping the married men at home, until a fresh occasion calls upon them."

The loyalist garrison at Ross having been considerably strengthened in the interim, it was decided to attack the insurgents on the morning of the 19th June. At first it looked as if the latter would make a desperate resistance, but on arriving at the hill the troops were astonished to see them run away. The rebels placed their hats on their pikes, so that at a distance it appeared as if there were more men than

[1] Taylor, pp. 110–111.

was actually the case,[1] banners were displayed, and all the make-believe pomp and circumstance of war resorted to. A shout was raised, which was thought by the loyalists to herald a charge, and caused them to halt. In the confusion which followed the rebels made good their retreat, dividing into two parties, the smaller making for Vinegar Hill, and the larger, under Father Philip Roche, marching to the Three Rocks. Some of Roche's men afterwards entered Wexford.

Moore, who had arrived at Ross on the morning of the 18th, notes in his diary that "Everything here was in confusion. It was with difficulty that I could get an idea of the part I was to act in the different attacks. I at last found that I was to lead the right column of three that were to march out. The march was ordered for 2 A.M., but from rain it was necessarily postponed till 6 A.M. I had the 60th Yagers, 900 Light Infantry, 50 Hompesch Cavalry, and six pieces of artillery. The rebels were posted on a hill about a mile and a half from Ross. We saw them plainly drawn up, I thought with the intention of fighting us. The road I marched by led directly on the left of their position; they allowed me to come within cannon shot, and then retreated. General Johnstone, with the centres was moving at the same moment to attack them in front. The Yagers in the pursuit killed sixty or seventy of them.[2] I joined General Johnstone at Old Ross; he proceeded with me to Carrickburn,

[1] *History of the Insurrection of 1798.* By T. Clooney, p. 73.

[2] Hay (p. 201) asserts that the rebels "effected a good retreat to the Three Rocks, without the loss of a man."

which we found evacuated. The Major-General then returned to Ross, leaving me orders to proceed to Fookes Mill, where he said I should be joined by the Queen's and the 24th, which had landed from England at Duncannon. I took post that evening at the house and park of a Mr. Sutton.[1] The country through which we had passed was rich and beautiful, but perfectly deserted. The soldiers, contrary to all orders, quitted their divisions and set fire to many houses. It was shocking to see a fine cultivated country deserted of its inhabitants and in flames. I have prevented this from happening since then, and our last marches have been conducted with regularity."[2]

On the 20th the defeated Irish army, reinforced by the majority of the rebels from the town of Wexford and some from Vinegar Hill, marched from the Three Rocks to Goff's Bridge, intending to regain possession of New Ross.[3] Moore came up with them on his way to Taghmon,[4] as arranged by Lake, the troops from Duncannon who were to join him having failed to arrive. The battle lasted four hours and a half, and for a time it seemed as if the loyalist force could not withstand the renewed attacks of the enemy, whose powers of endurance are to be admired, for it must be remembered that they had spent little or no time in refreshing themselves after the adventures of the previous day. Unable to get to the enemy at

[1] At Longraige.
[2] *Diary of Sir John Moore*, Vol. I., pp. 295–296.
[3] Musgrave, p. 484.
[4] About seven miles from Wexford.

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR JOHN MOORE
From a contemporary proof engraving in the collection of Mr. A. M. Broadley

close quarters, Roche had been obliged to fall back on those of his men who carried firearms, his artillery consisting of half a dozen guns which had been taken from a ship in Wexford harbour.[1] Eventually, they were compelled to give in, and retired once more to the Three Rocks. Had not Moore, for whom the most partisan historians of the rebel cause have a good word to say,[2] personally rallied his troops and led a charge when they were all but disheartened, the honours of the day would have remained with the insurgents. He admits that the action "was for a short time pretty sharp. The rebels were in great numbers, and armed with both muskets and pikes. They were, however, forced to give way, and driven, though they repeatedly attempted to form behind the ditches. They at last dispersed, flying towards Enniscorthy and Wexford. Their killed could not be ascertained, as they lay scattered in the fields over a considerable extent; but they seemed to be numerous. . . The troops behaved with great spirit. The artillery, and Hompesch's cavalry, were active, and seemed only to regret

[1] Teeling, p. 258. In a footnote (p. 113) Taylor says that "General Moore in his official account of the action, mentions the rebel army to be about five or six thousand; but General Priest Roche told the General, when the former was a prisoner in Wexford, that they were more than eighteen thousand in number, which was afterwards found to be nearly correct."

[2] See especially Miles Byrne, Vol. I., p. 116. Teeling speaks of "the manly virtue displayed by the humane and gallant General Moore. While he discharged with fidelity the trust reposed in him by the crown, he was not insensible to the protection which he owed to the subject; and abhorring the system of plunder and outrage, so subversive of discipline and order, he inflicted exemplary punishment on some of the offenders" (p. 255).

that the country did not admit of their rendering more effectual service. Major Daniel is the only officer whose wound is bad ; it is through the knee, but not dangerous.

"The business, which began between three and four, was not over till near eight ; it was then too late to proceed to Taghmon. I took post for the night on the ground where the action had commenced. As the rebels gave way, I was informed of the approach of the second and twenty-ninth regiments under Lord Dalhousie. In the morning of the twenty-first we were proceeding to Taghmon, when I was met by an officer of the North Cork from Wexford, with the inclosed letters. I gave, of course, no answer to the proposal made by the inhabitants of Wexford, but I thought it my duty immediately to proceed here, and to take post above the town, by which means I have, perhaps, saved the town itself from fire, as well as the lives of many loyal subjects who were prisoners in the hands of the rebels. The rebels fled upon my approach, over the bridge of Wexford, and towards the barony of Forth. I shall wait here your further orders. Lord Kingsborough[1] has informed me of different engage-

[1] George King (1771–1839), Viscount Kingsborough and third Earl of Kingston ; succeeded to the Earldom, April 1799. He was taken prisoner by the rebels when attempting to rejoin his regiment, the North Cork Militia, at Wexford. In making his passage by water in company with Captain O'Hea and Lieutenant Bourke, their little boat was forced to surrender to a larger vessel manned by rebels. Such a man was a useful hostage, and the insurgents apparently thought that he could make terms with Government, or at least with any of the loyalist generals, on their behalf should it be necessary. On the morning of the 21st June it was decided

ments he had entered into with respect to the inhabitants; I have declined entering into the subject, but have referred his lordship to you or General Lake.

"I received your pencilled note during the action of the twentieth; it was impossible for me to detach the troops you asked for, but I hear you have perfectly succeeded at Enniscorthy with those you had. Mr. Roche, who commands the rebels, is encamped, I hear, about five miles off; he sent Lord Kingsborough to surrender upon terms. Your presence speedily is upon every account extremely necessary."[1]

Acting according to the directions issued by Lake on the 16th June, to which reference has already been made, the various divisions of the army were gradually closing round the retreat of the rebels at Vinegar Hill and Enniscorthy. Generals Needham and Moore were alone prevented from taking their intended positions. Late on the evening of the 20th the former, when in bivouac at Oulart Hill, received orders from

that Lord Kingsborough should inform the commanders of the King's troops "That the town of Wexford had surrendered to him, and in consequence of the behaviour of those in the town during the rebellion, they should all be protected in person and property, murderers excepted, and those who had instigated others to commit murder, hoping these terms might be ratified, as he had pledged his honour in the most solemn manner to have these terms fulfilled on the town being surrendered to him, the Wexford men not being concerned in the massacre, which was perpetrated by country people in their absence" (*See* Hay, pp. 231–232). Deputations were sent to each of the armies now rapidly approaching. Captain McManus and Hay went to Sir James Duff, Captain O'Hea and Thomas Cloney to Lake, and Lieutenant Bourke and Robert Carty to Moore. (See also *post*, p. 190.)

[1] Camp above Wexford, 22nd June, 1798.—Musgrave, Appendix XXI., pp. 156–7.

Lake to join him at his head-quarters at Solsborough, two miles above Enniscorthy, where Dundas and Loftus had already converged. The tedious and difficult march was begun, and in the early hours of the morning of the 21st, Needham reported himself, only to be handed further instructions requiring him to take up a position some miles further on. He requested Lake to delay the general advance for a short time to allow him to reach the post assigned to him on the Wexford side of the hill. This the Commander-in-Chief was unable to do, and although Needham advanced his cavalry, the loophole thus left afforded the rebels a way of escape, and precluded the crushing defeat they would have otherwise sustained. This opening was afterwards nicknamed Needham's Gap, and the officer referred to as "the late General Needham." He was censured for his conduct, but it is difficult to deliver judgment, although Froude lends his ear to a whisper that went round to the effect that the delay was intentional, and due to motives of humanity. "If this was the reason, it was misplaced leniency," adds the eminent historian and biographer.[1] It is not well to put too much faith in Dame Rumour, who is a lying jade nine times out of ten, and a consensus of opinion would make it appear that the general was both too cautious and too slow. Perhaps Needham resembled Villeneuve, who was dogged by the spectre of Nelson. The general may have imagined that every bush concealed Father John. That he pushed his cavalry forward is certainly in his favour. Had he

[1] Froude, Vol. III., p. 502.

conscientiously wished to restrain bloodshed he would surely not have done so.

The battle of Vinegar Hill has already been described by competent writers *ad nauseam*, and detailed reference to it is unnecessary. Suffice to say that the rebels made a good stand for an hour and a half, and when it became obvious that " the game was up," fled down the southern side of the hill, the only way of escape left open to them. They were able to effect a fairly orderly retreat to the Three Rocks, partly owing to the arrival of Edward Roche, who came up with a reinforcement of some 5,000 men, and engaged the cavalry which was attempting to follow. The latter cut down a considerable number, however, and it is probable that the insurgents lost more men in the retreat than during the actual fight. An urgent message had been sent to Edward Roche to bring his forces to the assistance of those who were fiercely combating the loyalist army, but it was a considerable time before he could marshal them, so great was the commotion in the town. This explains why he did not come up until the engagement was over and *sauve qui peut* was the order of the day. While the rebels were falling back they sustained a severe blow by the death of Father Clinch of Enniscorthy. Like the majority of the priest-generals, he was a large man, and particularly conspicuous because he rode a white horse. The Earl of Roden[1] coming up with him, shots were exchanged, the former being wounded in the neck.

[1] Robert, second Earl of Roden (1756–1820). M.P. for Dundalk 1790–1797.

After Clinch had fired a second time an officer of his lordship's regiment dispatched this sanguinary representative of Holy Church.

From the Three Rocks the majority of the rebels poured into Wexford. "And here," writes Miles Byrne, "our two armies that had separated on the 31st of May at the Windmill Hill, near the town, then flushed with victory, one to go northwards to attack Gorey and Arklow, the other to go to take New Ross, met again, but unfortunately under very different circumstances, they being now completely dismayed and disheartened after our recent defeats; and it is grievous to think that our generals did not seem to have any preconcerted plan of action in the event of such disasters as we were now experiencing. This was the critical moment, when leaders should have shown that energy of character which would inspire their followers with enthusiasm and confidence."[1] At length the disorderly rabble was prevailed upon to leave Wexford, although some remained behind in anticipation of a favourable reply to the messages which had been sent to the English generals. One division, estimated at 5,000 or 6,000 men,[2] with Fathers John Murphy and Philip Roche, encamped at Sledagh; the other, under Edward Fitzgerald, Garret Byrne, Anthony Perry, Esmond Kyan, and Edward Roche, marched so far as Peppard's Castle, on the road to Gorey and some ten or twelve miles from the town of Wexford, before halting for the night.

[1] Miles Byrne, Vol. I., p. 134.
[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. I., p. 153.

On nearing the camp at the Three Rocks on the 21st General Moore dispatched an advance guard, but the rebels at once dispersed. "Upon our approach to the town [of Wexford]," he notes, "we saw crowds of people running in all directions out of it. A house on fire made me suspect the rebels meant to burn the town, and perhaps the prisoners in their possession. I therefore advanced and took post close to it, and sent Lord Dalhousie with two hundred men into it, with orders to release the prisoners and leave such a force in the town as would ensure tranquillity and protect the well-affected. The moment I had settled the different regiments I went in myself, and witnessed the most affecting scenes: fathers meeting their children, wives, &c., whom they thought to have perished. Many of the gentlemen, whose families were prisoners in the town, had attended me as guides and yeomen. Forty prisoners had been shot and piked the day before, and it was intended to have shot the rest that evening if I had not come on. They amounted to some hundred persons, of the best rank in the county. I, therefore, had the good fortune to perform one of the most pleasing services that could fall to the lot of an officer. In the morning [22nd] I wrote a report of the whole of my transactions to Major-General Johnstone, and ordered the troops to move to a position half a mile in the rear, as the position I was in was bad. Just as I had taken it General Johnstone, and afterwards General Lake, arrived with their different columns from Enniscorthy, where the day before they had jointly attacked the rebels on Vinegar Hill. They

had beaten and dispersed them with little loss, but killed a great many of the rebels. Our different columns are now all encamped round the town. . . . General Roche (a priest), who fought against me, and several other leaders, have been taken by the soldiers since we have been here; they have all been tried, or are being tried, by courts-martial. Yesterday a gentleman having £8,000 a year was arrested."[1]

An even more stirring picture has been given to us by Sir Jonah Barrington. "A short time after the capture of Wexford," he relates, "I traversed that county to see the ruins which had been occasioned by warfare. Enniscorthy had been twice stormed, and was dilapidated and nearly burned. New Ross shewed most melancholy relics of the obstinate and bloody battle of full ten hours' duration, which had been fought in every street of it. The numerous pits crammed with dead bodies, on Vinegar Hill, seemed on some spots actually elastic as we stood upon them; whilst the walls of an old windmill on its summit appeared stained and splashed with the blood and brains of many victims who had been piked or shot against it by the rebels. The court house of Enniscorthy, wherein our troops had burned alive above eighty of the wounded rebels, and the barn of Scullabogue, where the rebels had retaliated by burning alive above one hundred and twenty Protestants, were terrific ruins! The town of Gorey was utterly destroyed, not a house being left perfect; and the

[1] *Diary of Sir John Moore*, Vol. I., p. 299.

THE VINEGAR HILL STATUE, WEXFORD
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bodies of the killed were lying half covered in sundry ditches in its vicinity."[1]

"June 21.—All Yeoman Cavalry who had not any particular Duty to attend to were ordered out on Reconnoitreing parties. At 5 this evening an express arrived from Gorey with the pleasing intelligence that the Rebel Camp upon Vinegar Hill was attacked this morning at 7 o'clock, and carried in about an hour and [a] half. Yeoman from the neighbourhood of Gorey obtained leave from the Commanding Officer to Reconnoitre towards their own neighbourhood, but to return—the Patrole to march from hence at 6 o'clock, tomorrow, and to act with caution."

Ceasing to be less concentrated, the insurrection entered upon a more troublesome phase. A heath fire which is localised is easier to extinguish than a number of smaller fires scattered over the common, and the detached parties which roamed in Wexford, Wicklow, and the midland counties,[2] apparently having no more worthy object than spreading desolation wherever they went and hoping against hope that *la belle France* would fulfil her promises, became at once the terror of the country-side and a constant source of worry at Dublin Castle. Predatory civil warfare is warfare at its worst.

[1] *Personal Sketches and Recollections of His Own Times.* By Sir Jonah Barrington, Judge of the High Court of Admiralty in Ireland, p. 146.

[2] Froude, Vol. III., p. 527.

CHAPTER VII

A THREE WEEKS' TERROR: MRS. BROWNRIGG'S JOURNAL AT WEXFORD, 26TH MAY–21ST JUNE

. . . a reckless humour, ignoring of the inevitable, which I saw often enough in Ireland.—CARLYLE.

BRIEF reference has been made previously to the evacuation of the town of Wexford by the loyalist troops, its occupation by the rebels, and its subsequent relief. The following is a more human document. Written apparently for the benefit of her children, Mrs. Brownrigg has told her story without literary adornment, and in a particularly forceful way. If it does not appeal to the intellect, it certainly appeals to the heart, for there is pathos and to spare in this record of the wanderings of an unprotected gentlewoman and her children. It is evident that when Sir Richard Musgrave was compiling his monumental *Memoirs of the different Rebellions in Ireland* he had access to the Diary, and he quotes a small portion of it, usually not *verbatim*. He refers to the writer as " a very amiable and respectable lady," and adds a footnote that " Her name is concealed at her own desire."[1] The MS. now

[1] Musgrave, p. 451.

appears in its entirety, and no editing has been attempted beyond paragraphing and correcting a few slips in punctuation. The original spelling is retained.

"Saturday, May the 26th.—I was extremely busy at Greenmound making new cloaths for Henry and superintending a Walk by the River Side as we were to have a good many friends to dine on Whitsun Monday. About four o'clock Mr. Lyster returned from a ride to Wexford and brought an account of the alarm that reigned in Dublin, was in great spirits at what he thought the favourable prospect of affairs from Government's having full intelligence of all Plans against them, &c., &c. A Terror such as I never before experienced seized me, and I was obliged to sit down on the bank where I had been standing. Mr. L—— said everything to dispel my fears, made me go to the house and take some wine—all was in vain, and the instant dinner was over I walked out to try and compose my mind. In about two hours I returned to the house and just at the door met a country girl almost speechless with terror. With great difficulty she articulated that a Gentleman had just rode by her cabin with a drawn Sword and desired that Mr. Lyster sh^{d} immediately join his Corps at Bellevue. Mrs. Lyster's situation then engrossed me entirely. Mr. L—— had gone out to walk and we cou'd not find him for above two hours. He was as ignorant of the cause of the Message we rec^{d} as we were ourselves, and only stayed to put on his Uniform and give his Keys to me, recommending Kate and her five children to my care.

"Such a night as we passed, surrounded I strongly

suspected, and the event has proved I was right, by Rebels who came to *protect* us and who wou'd certainly have murdered us if they had been sure of the success of their party. We walked the Court the entire night. One time we heard a boat on the river, and were certain a party were coming over to attack us. However, they went up river. At daylight *our Guards* departed, and we remained in anxiety till late in the day, when the Mr Bagleys rode from Wexford to intreat we wou'd go there, and at the same moment a letter came from Mr Lyster to beg we wd come to Bellevue, where he had just returned after marching with his Corps 20 miles without seeing a rebel; but alas he saw but too many proofs of their Execrable Barbarity. I was all anxiety to go directly to Waterford and sail for England, but Mrs L—— intreated so earnestly that I wou'd not run what she thought the only hazard, that I suffered myself to be persuaded and consented to stay one day 'till I left her with Mr. L—— or in Wexford. We then all went by water to Bellevue, where Mr. Ogle's Corps were assembled, and spent a pleasing and almost chearful evening. Mr. Ogle knew the Rebels were approaching towards Enniscorthy, but thought the Force there fully equal to its defence.

" I must now tell you what I have always heard was the Progress of the business on Saturday. The rising began near Oulart, and let those Gentlemen who even now expatiate on the excesses of the Soldiery and the oppressed state of the People remember that there was not a single soldier from Gorey to Wexford, a distance of 21 miles, that there never had been any there,

nor could any possible excuse of that kind be assigned for what ensued. One of their first steps was to attack Mr. Burrows' house and to murder him in the presence of his wife, children and a niece, whom I [have] since conversed with in Wexford. They also broke into Mr. D'Arcy's house at Ballynation, [and] offered to make him a Commander *provided* he wou'd turn Catholic. He said, ' No, he had lived a Protestant and wou'd die one.' He was immediately butchered. On Sunday the 27th of May, when this account reached Wexford, 106 of the North Cork Militia, all picked men, and five officers marched out, and were joined by about 23 of Col. Lehante's[1] Yeomen Cavalry, all the rest were *not to be found*. This force marched on a hot day 12 miles, and, on ascending a Hill saw a Valley below them, and on the opposite Hill the entire Rebel Force. Two old officers who were in Lehante's Cavalry spoke to Major Lombard, who had the command given him by Col. Foote, to hope they shou'd all remain where they were and wait the approach of the Rebels, as their Position from many circumstances was highly advantageous ; but Major Lombard, a brave, spirited young Man, fearless of danger, resisted their remonstrances and intreaties and boldly rushed with his party down the Hill and up half the opposite Hill, when he halted and made every one of his Soldiers fire. At once the Rebels, who were running back, saw the advantage he had given them, and whilst the Soldiers were reloading, completely surrounded them. Col. Foote and 4 others only escaped to Lehante's Cavalry,

[1] Colonel Le Hunte.

who got off without the least difficulty as the Rebels seemed not at all desirous of attacking them. They retreated to Wexford, from whence expresses were sent off to Waterford, Ross, &c., &c., requesting military assistance.

"The Rebel Force increasing every hour, and plundering and butchering every Protestant that they thought not absolutely favourable to their cause, proceeded towards Enniscorthy and attacked it on Monday morning the 28th. That day at the first Dawn I was alarmed at Belleone by loud talking under my window. I got up, and on listening heard a poor old Man give an account of the dreadful murders that had taken place round him. Shortly after an order came from Wexford that Mr. Ogle and Corps shou'd march there. All was then confusion except the Master and Mistress of the house. She made breakfast for us all with her usual sweetness and composure. Our boat was got ready, and just before I went to it I saw from an upper window Enniscorthy in flames. Mrs. L—— and I stopt at Greenmound, took in my trunks which I had packed on the first alarm and a few bundles of her own, and proceeded to Wexford. [During] our entire passage we never saw a living being. When we landed we found every man under Arms. My entire object was to get any method of leaving it, and I walked about incessantly from one Capt of a Ship to another to induce any one to sail with me to Milford and cou'd not succeed. Spent a miserable night on a straw Matress on the floor by Mrs Lyster or wandering about the house.

" Next morning, the 29th, at daylight Mr. J. Grogan and 12 of his Cavalry marched in at the head of 200 of the Donegal Militia from Duncannon. This seemed to raise the spirits of many. It had not that effect on mine, so I set out again, and at last Capt *Dixon* agreed to take me to Milford and to sail that day. About 2 o'clock I went on board his Ship immediately, for the fate of Enniscorthy the day before, and the lamentable state in which some of the fugitives from it entered Wexford, gave me a terror of fire not to be expressed. I remained on board all night. Mrs. L—— sent me a Matress and blankets which I spread on Deck and put the children on it with the blanket over them. There w^{d} have been room for me, but a lady I never saw till then laid herself down by them, so I sat all night on the handle of the Rudder with my head leaning on a bundle of ropes. Great God! What a night that was. The Horns of the Rebels I heard very plainly, for the Ship just lay about half way from Ferry Bank and Wexford. I saw very clearly that the Captain of the vessell was not loyal. Of course, I had no chance of escaping to England, so sat in fearful expectation of my fate.

" At the first dawn of day, May the 30th, the Bridge was set on fire from the Ferry Bank side, all our crew were, or pretended to be, asleep. I awoke them, and if I had doubted their principles before cou'd no longer doubt them. A wonderful scene of confusion now ensued. Boats of every description put off from [the] Shore, and our Ship and every other in the harbour was filled with women and children, some naked,

several that had been in Enniscorthy the day before entirely frantic. When day was quite clear I got a Spy Glass and saw a party of Rebels about half a Mile from Ferry Bank. They were stationary, and seemed as if placed to watch the effect of the fire on the Bridge, that was soon extinguished. Several Gentlemen rowed to our Ship to give us accounts of what was going on, and most curious as well as melancholy accounts they brought. The North Cork Militia was at various posts guarding the entrance of the town when every one of their officers but a young lad of 14 (of the name of Little) left them there and went on board the Ships. The Donegals and some Yeomen Cavalry marched with a field piece to the 3 Rocks, about 3 miles from Wexford, and a strong pass, to meet the Rebels. They did meet them, fired one volley, and seeing, I suppose, the immense disparity of numbers and that the Rebels had got 2 field pieces, retreated to Wexford, marched thro' it to the Barracks to refresh, and, of course, left all clear for the Rebels, as the North Corks deserted by their officers and seeing the retreat of the Donegals quitted their posts immediately.

" All this time, of course, the Rebels were advancing and increasing in numbers. I sat watching the Cavalry on the Quay. They began to disperse shortly after Mr. Lyster come on the Shore, kissed his hands earnestly to me, lifted them to Heaven, and went off. Several of the North Cork officers went back to Wexford from the Ships, and as I afterwards found, joined their Men who, with the Donegals, Mr. Ogle and Corps,

and some few Loyalists who knew of the retreat, fought their way and after incredible hardships arrived safe at Duncannon Fort. It appears very extraordinary that Col. Maxwell, who commanded, neither sounded a retreat nor sent to acquaint the Yeoman Corps that he intended it. By this means those at distant posts never heard of it, and were standing perfectly ignorant of their situation when the Rebels poured into the town in numbers past all belief or description. As soon as the Army had gone off Capt Dixon got into his boat avowedly to join them, and saying he wou'd *try* what he cou'd do to save our lives in a manner that showed we had little to hope. We were then, I suppose, about 40 women and children put into the hold of the Ship on Coals with which it was loaded, and sat expecting immediate death for above an hour.

"Never can I forget the Scene; few have beheld such a one. Not a shriek or loud word was spoken, except by Henry, who was singing as if he was in perfect safety. My poor Isabella cried *quietly* by my side, *and* a Mrs. Bland sat patting *three lap Dogs*. At length Capt Dixon returned, and said no woman or child shou'd be killed, but that no man sh'd escape but 3 that he named. Numbers of Men had come on board in his absence, hoping to escape to England. One particular friend of mine, Mr. T——, asked me to shelter him behind me in the hold. I did so, and covered him with great coats, &c. The Rebels now sent boats to bring the People into town from the Ships. What ferocious Savages then appeared, intoxicated with Whiskey and victory, one *woman* brandish-

ing the Sheath of a Sword and boasting of her exploits! She was sister to Mrs. Dixon, and an old acquaintance of mine, as her husband had been killed at Artramont. The first demand was for Arms which the Gentlemen [had] brought with them. Some Rebels jumped into the hold to search, one of them fixed his eyes on me and said, 'If *I* looked he wou'd be satisfied.' This was a great relief, for I was certain before of seeing my poor friend killed by me, and perhaps sharing his fate for hiding him. I then crept on hands and feet under the deck &c., and found several Guns, Pistols and Swords, which I handed to my Rebel *admirer*. He thanked me very graciously, told the rest not to molest me, and they all went off carrying with them a number of the unfortunate men to Prison and to Death.

" Observe that from the time Capt Dixon returned Pistols and Guns were incessantly firing round us, and he assured us there wou'd not be a life spared on board any Ship but his, and that his Ship was excepted because he was brother-in-law to Roche, the Commander of the Rebel Army. When the Boat went off with Arms, and my poor friend Mr. T—— told me he wou'd go on Deck and meet his fate for he w^{d} not involve me in it, I bid him stay and went to Mrs Dixon, [and] told her who he was. She declared he was as safe as herself, so he went, most fortunately, on Deck, for in half an hour another boat full came in very bad temper and said if they found one Gun or man below they wou'd burn the vessel and all in it. I thought it most probable they wou'd find Guns,

for I had not looked very carefully. However, they did not, but sent every one from on board the Ship but me and family. I had no place to go to. Mrs. Lyster I knew had gone in a boat down the harbour, all my friends in town were loyal and I supposed were murdered. So I begged of Mrs Dixon to let me stay, and I must do her the justice to say she consented with seeming good nature. The day passed in receiving boats full of Ruffians coming to search for men; to boast of their murders, and to increase their Intoxication. One wou'd not drink except *I* did first least he shou'd be poisoned. I did drink; sincerely wishing (if it was God Almighty's will) that it might be poison. At night I lay down in the hold *on the Coals* with the Children, who slept quite sound. They had never eat nor asked for food that entire day, nor from 3 o'clock the day before, except one bit of bread. When the Crew thought us asleep their conversation exceeds description. What saved our lives or saved us from worse than Death was our all gracious God who still preserves us.

" At day light, May 31st, Capt Dixon came on board, and said everything horrible, made me stand on the deck to look where poor Mr. Boyd's dead body lay, and boasted of various murders. A fellow came opposite to me, drew his Pistol from his Girdle, and with the look of a Demon seemed to enjoy my terror. Mrs Dixon came and said if I had any papers that showed I was a *Protestant* I must destroy them, as a party were coming that wd destroy her and her Ship if they found a Protestant in it. On this I unlocked

my box of papers and they tied them all round with large coal and sank them in the Sea. Another boat now came. One Man seemed more humane than the rest; I took him aside and offered him my purse if he wou'd get us safe on Shore. He said 'Yes,' spoke to a friend of his, and instantly made us get into his boat. Elizabeth brought my writing box. No one said we did ill or well. Mrs Dixon asked, 'Wou'd I take my Trunks?' I had sufficient presence of mind to say 'No,' that I thought them much safer with her. This, and a most curious liking that Isabella took to her, I believe got us out of the Ship alive. The Child cried at parting with her, and clung round her.

"We rowed off; I had no place to go to, and the Streets were as thick of armed Men firing random Shots as Leaves on a Tree, for that was the Boatman's Simile. One of them considered and asked me if I knew any Catholic. I named Mrs Talbot. He brought me [by] a back way from the water to her house. It was all shut up and deserted, and we got again into the boat. I sat not caring what they did with me, when to my amaze, I was asked if I knew Doctor Jacob.[1] I said 'Yes.' 'Then we will take you to him, for his is a safe house.'[2] They landed me opposite his door, and most kindley was I recd by all his family. Do not, however, suppose I was for an instant either in peace or safety. The Hall etc. was full of Ruffians, and in 10 minutes after they brought faggots to set

[1] Mayor of the town and Captain of the Wexford infantry.

[2] Musgrave adds a note (p. 452) that the house was that of Mr Hatchel, son-in-law of Dr. Jacob.

fire to the house. Some of more humanity dissuaded them.

"I had now been from Sunday night the 27th without Sleep or food, for I can hardly say I eat once and only drunk some tea from Mrs Dixon. You have read in what manner my time passed, and can scarcely wonder that my Senses partly forsook me. It was, however, only partly, for I perfectly recollect all that passed. I think I may say I was more guided by the enthusiasm of *Despair* than Insanity. I took Isabella by the hand, and went directly to Bagenel Harvey. He did not know me, which was only what I expected, covered as I was with Coal Ashes, and convulsed by Misery. I told my name, reminded him of his acquaintance with John, and *desired* (for I felt too much indignation to *intreat*), that he wou'd protect me and my children. He spoke with great kindness, seemed greatly struck indeed by the misery he must have felt he had caused, and gave me the paper I sent to you, at the same time saying 'He had no *real* command, and that they were a Set of *Savages* exceeding all description.' I asked, 'When is this to end?' His answer I never can forget. 'Probably not *for some time*, for Government will not now send a Force till they send *a proper one*.' He seemed so perfectly sensible that he had no authority that his Protection gave me little comfort. He said he must try and get the people out of the town to form Camps or it wou'd be destroyed in a few hours. It seems Mr John Hay harangued the Mob, intreating them to burn the Town, and of course all of us that were in it. Shortly

after the Rebels consented to go to Camp. I saw thousands beyond my Ideas of reckoning depart, [with] many Priests as Leaders. Often the people stopped, knelt down, wiped the Ground, and crossed themselves, then set up their hideous Yells and followed their Priest. The day passed looking at and listening to them. Shots fired every instant, and small parties searching the house as they pleased, drinking and sending other friends to follow their example.

" Next day, June 1st, just passed in the same way. John Ricards came to me with tears, lamented my situation and his own fate in being obliged to join the Rebels, who with great difficulty spared his life or admitted him, as they knew from his not knowing their Signs that he never had been an United Irishman. He insisted on my taking *eight* Guineas. When I refused [he] laid it on a table and swore he never would touch it, that he owed me more than he cou'd ever repay, and wou'd willingly lay down his life if it cou'd be of use to me. He told me, I am sure with *real* horror, how the *Protestants* were spoke against, but he trusted the Women and Children wou'd be spared. I took his Money, and felt more pleasure in sending him Gen[l] Leake's [1] Protection when the Army came than in anything that I met with. I trust I shall yet be able to repay his attachment still more fully. In the evening Doctor Caulfield [2] came to see me. Poor Ricards had gone to tell him where I was,

[1] Lake.

[2] The Rt. Rev. James Caulfield, Roman Catholic Bishop of Ferns.

etc., etc. Caulfield was very kind, and gave me an ample Protection, but like Harvey, declared he had no Influence, and added that he was cautioned in the Street coming, to beware how he protected Protestants. He said, 'The People cou'd not be described, that in reality the Devil was roaming at large amongst them. That their power cou'd never hold. That they w^d^ make it a religious War which w^d^ ruin them. That Government was strong and must conquer, and that this rebellion had been hatching for the last four years.' I think he might have given Government notice of it.

"June 2^d^.—This day we sat in expectation of our speedy release. Nothing was talked of by the Mob in our hearing but the *punishing* of the Protestants, and Mrs. Lehaste and *many many* others went to the Chapel, renounced their Religion, were *Christened* (for it seems *we* are not Christians), and were marched in Procession thro' the town. Flanagan, the Boatman who brought me on shore, came to intreat I wou'd go. Various were his reasons. He assured me I was *happy in my sufferings*, as they wou'd compel me to save my precious Soul, which must else be eternally lost. I answered him with great civility and *thanks*, but he saw I wou'd not go, and at last took his leave intreating me to consent to come then *with him*, and with great emphasis to beware of being the last to go to Mass. Elizabeth was by and enraged at my *mildness*, 'how I could patiently bear such a fellow's daring to speak to me, that they might kill her, and so she supposed they wou'd, but never shou'd they get her into a Chapel alive.'

"From this time to the 20th of June, a day ever to be remembered with singular horor, we passed in misery and agitation. On the 2d of June, from fear that our filth might be too offensive, I sent Flanagan to the Ship for my trunks. None of us had changed any of our dress from the 28th of May. They wou'd not give them without an order from Mr. Harvey. I put my Arm under a Rebel's who offered it (I think he was a bricklayer), and walked thro' the Streets crowded with armed villains firing incessantly (sincerely I wished some shot might hit me) till I arrived at Mrs Letts, where Centinals were placed, colours flying, and all proper dignity preserved. The Centinals stopped me, so I asked for Mr Harvey. He immediately came out and took me into a parlour, where sat Keagh[1] and Fitzgerald, with various papers on a Green Table before them. I intreated Mr Harvey to allow some boat or Ship to take me away. He promised in a couple of days to *try* and get one. Mr Keagh was all condescension, made me sit down, but *wondered* much why I shou'd wish to leave a place where I was in perfect safety. Fitzgerald never spoke, but gave me a most ferocious look which I did not care one pin about. After some conversation, principally Mr. Harvey's describing all the fatigue he suffered and the present difficulty of procuring bread for The People who were demanding it most clamourously at the Door, he wrote an order for my Trunks and I departed. So ended my visit to *The Council.* My *Trunks* were then sent, but the

[1] Matthew Keugh. See *ante*, p. 99.

locks all broken, and (except a few things at the bottom of one Trunk), totally empty. Fortunately there came Linen enough to make us clean. I set about undressing, and before I cou'd dress again had Rebel men in my room.

" June the 3d.—They made three Protestants shoot a man of the name of Murphy in The Bull Ring. They wou'd not kill him themselves because he was a Catholic, but he cou'd not be pardoned as he had given information against Dixon, *a Priest*,[1] who was transported in consequence. The Rebels told the Men who shot Murphy that they shou'd also suffer. However, they sent them back to Jail. One of them was butchered on the Bridge the 20th of June. Murphy had been Servant to Mr Edwards, who had retreated with the Army to Duncannon. Not having him in their power they showed their good intentions towards him by tearing his Mother's house to atoms and destroying all her property. She and her daughters had luckily escaped to Wales. *Two* Ships only were loyal and went off, She by chance was on board one of them.

" From the 3d to the 10th I recollect nothing particular, every day was equally miserable and passed in the same Manner, our doors open, Rebels ever coming in and walking all over the House, some Civil, some not, no one ever knowing whether they wou'd murder or not before they departed. The Rebel Troops paraded Twice a day on the Quay opposite our door. They had fiddles, Drums, and Fifes. They

[1] A relative of Captain Dixon. Kavanagh (p. 181) says the priest was sentenced " upon the evidence of a perjured informer."

were pleased to call it parade. It was in reality a *regular Tumult,* every one gave his advice and opinion. One said, ' I will go and take Ross,' another, ' I will take Newtownbarry.' Henry John listened one day with great attention and said, ' Dear Mama, are they every one *Kings?* ' At this time the John Street Corps of *300* Men was commanded by Monaghan, a Derry boy. He had the most truly ferocious countenance I ever beheld. Henry John asked whether it was God Almighty that put *that face* on him. The Corps afterwards displaced him (they all changed officers as they pleased), and he went away to the Camp at Oulart with *Genl* Fitzgerald.

" About the 10th I was told that a Mr Masterson, a Catholic, was to sail in a Ship which had been taken by the Rebels a few days before and to proceed for England. I wrote to Mr Keagh (as Harvey was absent) for permission to go. He came, and in the most plausible manner gave his consent, sent orders to the Committee appointed to give out provisions to supply me with Sea Store, and assured me he wou'd take care that I shou'd have most comfortable accomodations and sail next day at 10 o'clock. This was the hardest Trial God was pleased to give me. My hopes of deliverance were great, but next day came and I heard nothing of Mr. Keagh or of the Ship sailing. I cou'd see *it* from the windows, and to make my Story short, was left to find out at my leisure that I wou'd not be liberated from my Prison; for Mr. Keagh never had the humanity even to break it to me. I did not see him for several days. When he came he

said *The Committee* cou'd not permit *my* Departure—a member of the Committee was *really* a friend of mine, and never, I am sure, was it brought before them.

"For several days I never wished to go out, but was desired to do so by Mr Keagh. 'Why shou'd we confine ourselves? Surely we cou'd have no Fears or Distrust?' I went to see Mrs Ogle, Mrs Boyd and Lady Anne Hore and Mrs Richards. Few ventured to any of those I have named, and truly miserable was their situation.

"June the 14th Capt Dixon and his Wife rode into town carrying a small Fire Screen from Col. Lehante's country house. Unfortunately it was decorated with *orange* Paper. Dixon stopt on the Quay, [and] spoke to the Sailors with his usual violence. All I cou'd hear was, 'You see, we were all to be massacred.' He rode into town, and as soon as the Sailors collected their arms they followed him. There was a most dreadful Tumult. Poor Col. Lehante dragged from his Lodging, fired at, struck, and many Pike Men attempted to stab him. How he escaped is hard to say. Some leading Rebels interfered, and *The People* determined at last on putting him *regularly* to Death next day, so consented to his being lodged in Jail. He only received one or two slight wounds, which considering his situation, was truly wonderful. The Rioting continued all night. Dixon and his Wife made out that the Fire Screen was *The Orange Standard;* and that all the figures on it pointed out various methods of *torturing* Roman Catholics. At another time, or if their views had been different, the inter-

pretations of the Charades etc. would have been truly laughable. As to the Figures, Hope on *her* anchor was a Sailor tied and left to die on a *Red hot* anchor, so all the Wexford Sailors were to have perished. A Heathen Goddess in buskins was Transformed by their Bigotry into Saint Patrick with a *new* kind of torture applied to his legs, and showed clearly how all true believers in *him* were to perish. The Babes in the Wood were The Roman Catholic Children turned out to Starve, the *birds* to pick their eyes out. It was hard on the Poor *Red breasts*, whose humanity I never before heard any doubt of, but I suppose they had turned Protestants. In the course of the evening one set of Rioters bust into the Council room and nearly killed Keagh, his crime was being an Orange Man. The Catholic members of the Committee rescued him. They were *all* Catholics, for Keagh had embraced that Religion, and always went at the head of the men to Chapel, so did all other leaders and soldiers that joined the Rebels, but the latter never forgot who had once been Protestants and treated them accordingly. I have heard some say 'All their *Policy* and their Christening shan't save them,' and latterly it was avowed that no Protestant shou'd live much less command them.

" About 9 o'clock the 14th a Party of Sailors, about 20 armed, came to our house. Their Leaders called out, 'Some go and secure the back of the House and now my Lads get ready your pieces and seize every person you meet.' Our Terror was dreadful. Isabella was in Bed rather delirious, and heard some one speak

of this party. I was obliged to lye down by her and wait their appearance. They brought candles in to help them in their search, as they said, for arms, ran their swords under the beds, etc. At last one said, 'We won't have any *blood*.' I never can forget how delightful I thought those words. They told us a long history of Col. Lehante's crimes, his dreadful *Screen*, etc., drank some Whiskey and departed.

"[On] the 17th and 18th of June small parties of Horse appeared on Parade. They were called foraging parties, but in reality were sent out to watch the Progress of the Army. Of its approach we had not an Idea, were told that the Rebels were every where successful, and that Dublin and all the Northern towns were theirs. The Rebels cheered on Parade for taking Ross the day after they had been defeated there, and Mr. Keagh came in to tell us of the victory. He said '*Maam* there are 500 Soldiers lying *Dead, Dead!*' The common people *really* thought every thing was their own. Their Priests and Leaders dare not undeceive them. Recollect this, and it will account for their different line of conduct. The latter knew a day of reckoning was at hand, and as far as they cou'd do it without *danger* to their own lives wou'd, I believed, have saved ours. But the former, certain of success, threw off all disguise and showed themselves in their true colours. Never till then had I any Idea of what Wickedness the human heart is capable when deprived of all restraint, or still worse, given up to Bigotry and the grossest superstition. Some anecdotes of this Superstition

I must give you. My acquaintance, Mrs. Dixon's Sister, told me, enveighing most desperately against the Soldiers that they had *dared* to fire on the Holy Man (Roche the Priest), but that as soon as the Balls *touched* him they fell as soft as Feathers, adding, for I fancy she doubted *my Faith*, 'I saw them Myself.' Unfortunately, this Holy Man forgot any Preservative against Hemp, and was hanged on Wexford Bridge the 23rd of June.

"Murphy, a Priest, was killed at the Battle of Arklow, but my Rebel acquaintance informed me that the Army took him alive, tortured him cruelly, and spent an entire day endeavouring to burn his *right hand*, but no, *that* they cou'd not, the Holy Man's hand wou'd not burn. Ask one of those *Holy* Men to save a Friend's life; they were all benevolence, but alas! had no Power, their influence had long ceased over the minds of the People. So they go on, and so they will ever go on, whilst God for the just punishment of our sins suffers such a Religion to Exist. The Rebel *Leaders* said they fought for Liberty, Emancipation, and Reform, Their Soldiers that they fought for Religion, to *punish* the Protestants, and to save their own lives, as *We* were certainly to have massacred all of them on Whitsun Tuesday. This I was assured their Priests had preached to them. One night on our Steps a man lamented much the hard life he led, and said he was much happier in his own Cabin. 'So we were,' said another, 'but consider your Religion.' 'I never will be *backward* for my religion,' was his answer.

CHAPTER VIII

MRS. BROWNRIGG'S JOURNAL AT WEXFORD

(continued)

> Arm of Erin ! prove strong ; but be gentle as brave,
> And, uplifted to strike, still be ready to save ;
> Nor one feeling of vengeance presume to defile
> The cause or the men of the Emerald Isle.
>
> DRENNAN.

"ON the 19th of June one of the Protestant Maid Servants came in with a countenance impossible to describe, Joy and Terror were so equally blended. She had been in a Shop where Mr. Keagh was, when a man galloped into town covered with Sweat and Blood. Mr. Keagh called out, 'Sir, why are you from your Camp ?' The man gave an account of the Destruction of Lacken Camp that morning by the Army from Ross, whom he represented as close at his horse's heels. All the People wished to hear him and general confusion ensued. Mr. Keagh called him a Liar and sent him to Jail, but every one believed the Story he told. This was the Crisis I had long looked for, and went trembling to Pray. The Drums beat to arms. Mr. Keagh made a Speech on Parade which I cou'd not hear, the Tumult was so great ; but about 200 men armed with musquets

stepped from the Ranks and formed a separate body. Women came with Holy Water, sprinkled and crossed the Men. I must here inform you of the merits of Holy Water. Whoever had used it *and* possessed *Faith* was invulnerable. Those that escaped unhurt from Battle were preserved by it, those that fell perished from want of *Faith in it.* Let matters end as they wou'd, the efficacy of Holy Water was never doubted. To proceed with my history. The Gun Men marched off headed by Mr Gray.[1] Mr Edward Hay [2] was on Parade, and when it was over, mounted his horse and galloped over the Bridge, so did Capt Dixon and his Wife, [the latter] dressed in my riding Habit. In the evening one of the Committee came to tell us that the Army were approaching and English Frigates [were] off the Coast. No one cou'd feel pleasure, for we were all certain we shou'd not live to see them conquer. I sat up the entire night at an open window listening to every sound. Often I had done so before, and never had undressed except to change my Linen from the 27th of May.

" At dawn of day, Wednesday June the 20th, I saw a Rebel Troop coming over the bridge headed by Capt Dixon and carrying a *Black* Flag with a White Cross and some white Letters.[3] It was a very small party,

[1] Nicholas Gray, Secretary of the rebel Council.

[2] The historian of *The Rebellion in Wexford,* to whose book frequent reference has been made.

[3] " The black flag that appeared in Wexford on this day is, among other things, talked of with various chimerical conjectures, and its notoriety as denouncing massacre has been confidently recorded ; notwithstanding that it is an absolute fact, that this identical black flag was, throughout the whole insurrection, borne

but they only came to reconnoitre. In about an hour the Wexford men who had marched with Mr. Gray the day before returned to Parade. They had been all night at the Three Rocks and in another hour marched out of town (as I afterwards knew) to fight the Army at Goff's Bridge. They were accompanied by a large body of Pike Men. The town was now remarkably quiet, and some began to entertain hopes, as the Wexford People talked of sending letters from Lord Kingsborough to the Army and offering to surrender. Capt Dixon returned with a very large Troop ; I heard Mr. E. Hay came with them but I did not see him. The apparent Ferocity of this Troop surpassed (if possible) all we had seen, but their actions will speak for them. I have been near a week endeavouring to write the account of their Execrable Barbarity, and can hardly now prevail on myself to undertake it. Yet I think I ought for *my own* sake ; if ever you think me unjust to the Catholics or hard-hearted towards them, remember what follows, and you will not condemn *me*. The day went miserably on. Threats both by words and looks were bestowed on us. I sat as usual at the Window, and cou'd see the Frigates off the Coast. Capt Dixon had made various proposals to the People in the course of the day all tending

by a particular corps, and the carrying of banners of that colour, was, by no means, a singular circumstance during that period, as flags of that and every other hue, except orange, were waved by the insurgents, and from their different dies ingenious conjectures, however groundless, for the maintenance of prejudice, may be made as to the several dispositions of the bodies who moved under them, as little founded in fact or intention, as was the original destination of the black ensign in question."—Hay, p. 222.

to the same end, our destruction, which the Committee and Townspeople wished to prevent as they had no hopes of defeating the Army; Policy might have *partly* influenced their conduct, but I really don't think at any time the towns-people appeared inclined to Cruelty.

"About three Capt Dixon came on the Quay calling out, 'To the Jail!' He was followed up the Custom House Lane by numbers. They returned after some time calling out, 'To the Bridge!' I thought some alarm induced them to leave the Town and sat eagerly watching till I beheld—Yes, I absolutely saw a poor fellow beg for life and then most barbarously murdered. To give a minute account of this hellish Scene is beyond my Strength, nor cou'd any one desire to hear it. No Savages ever put their prisoners to more deliberate Torture as I *heard* but indeed did not *look* at them, but I saw a boat go to the Prison Ship and bring my friends and acquaintances (who on landing passed by our Door) to Torture and Death. I saw the horrid wretches kneel down on the Quay, lift up their hands seeming to pray with the greatest Devotion, then rise and join (or take the place of) other murderers. Their yells of delight at the sufferings of their victims will ever, I believe, sound in my ears. To describe what we all suffered wou'd be impossible. I never shed a Tear, but felt all over in the most violent *bodily Pain.* My darling Isabella's feelings were dreadful. I intreated her not to disturb [herself] but to let me pray if I cou'd; still she wou'd lament *my* being killed.

At last I assured her I w^d make the Pike Men kill *her* before *me;* this quieted her at once. Shortly after she left the room and returned with a cheerful look. 'Dear Mama, grow better, I have prayed to God to make the Pike Men not kill *you* and to make the bad men Good, and I am sure He heard me.' After the Army came she reminded me of this and said, 'You see Mama, God did hear me.'

"The murderers went on with their execrable work and put to death in all (from the most accurate account I cou'd afterwards get) *ninety-three* People.[1] Some few out of the Prison Ship they *acquitted*, that is, spared till the next day at the earnest intreaties of some of the Rebel Leaders. One man when acquitted said, 'Well, I suppose I may go home to my Wife now?' 'No Sir,' says Capt Dixon, 'go to your Prison, your being acquitted now is no reason [why] you shou'd not be tried again.' We only expected Life 'till the Prisons and Ship were emptied, when an Express came in the town to say the Army were marching against Vinegar Hill Camp, and that if they did not reinforce it immediately all was lost. The Town Priests *then*, and not till *then*, made their appearance on the bridge and carried back to Jail 19 prisoners, one Priest told me *he* cou'd have saved all the lives that were lost if he had heard of the massacre. It was wonderful, indeed, how he cou'd avoid hearing of it. The Leader of *the* Murderers called to his Men in these words which I distinctly heard, 'Come my Lads, we will go now and blessed be God

[1] Gordon (p. 151) gives the number as ninety-seven.

we have sent some of their Souls to Hell.' They went off really as if they had been performing a praiseworthy and religious action. Cap[t] and M[rs] Dixon followed on horseback, their horses wou'd not go over the place where the Blood lay on the bridge, but started back. They alighted and led their horses, she carefully holding up her habit to keep it clean. I think she *must* have felt some disagreeable sensations at that moment. It was said she desired the murderers not to waste their ammunition on the Prisoners but to give them plenty of Pikes. So alas! they did.

"Late this evening M[r] R——, a Catholic and late one of the Committee for Provisions, came to see us. He was like ourselves half dead with horror, and declared he had intreated the Priests to come down with their Crucifixes and prevent the Massacre, which they refused to do. We told him how Father Broe[1] said he had saved 19 Prisoners. This Mr. R—— denied, as it was the express only that saved them. He told us that the Black Flag meant that every one of that party had taken the *black Test Oath*. We had often heard of that, but wished for a particular account of it. He declared he never knew of it 'till that week. It seems there are three or four Oaths for United Irishmen which they take according to their rank and *merits*.[2] The Black Test is the last. It devotes all

[1] John Broe.

[2] On the 14th June the rebel Council of Wexford issued three forms of oaths "to be taken by all the United Army, in the most public and solemn manner. The Test Oath is as follows, and is given by Hay, Appendix IX., pp. xxiv–xxv:

"In the awful presence of God, I, A.B., do voluntarily declare,

Protestants, Men, women and children to Death in the most solemn manner, and as it has been published in the papers I need not copy it here.[1] A man came into a Shop where Mr. R—— was and asked another to give him the Black Test. This was refused, and the person he asked left the Shop, on which the Man who wanted to take the oath said, ' That fellow shall be one of the first I will kill, but as to the oath I don't care, for such a one can give it, and I will go to him for it.' Mr. R—— gave us intelligence of the success of the Army at Goff's Bridge and endeavoured to persuade us we were then safe, as the people of the Town were all fully determined not to oppose the Army, and the Country people wou'd be employed at Vinegar Hill.

" I cou'd not indulge any Hope, spent another night at the Window, and saw Capt Dixon, his Troop and *Black* Flag, return to Town in the morning. We all then gave ourselves up, tho' we cou'd see the Frigates and hear their Guns battering Rosslare Ford at the entrance of the Harbour. Mr. Keagh's brother, a very infirm old man, was so much shocked at the

that I will persevere in endeavouring to form a brotherhood of affection among *Irishmen* of *every* religious persuasion; and that I will also persevere in my endeavours to obtain an equal, full, and adequate representation of *all* the people of Ireland.—I do further declare, that neither hopes, fears, rewards, or punishments, not even death, shall ever induce me, directly or indirectly, to inform on or give evidence against any member or members of this or similar societies, for any act or expression of theirs, done or made collectively or individually, in or out of this society, in pursuance of the spirit of this obligation.—So help me God."

[1] " Every loyal Irish Protestant Heretic, I shall murder, and this I swear."—*See* Taylor, p. 86.

Massacre, the state of affairs and the part his brother had taken in the Rebellion, that he shot himself. Mr Keagh himself came in a wretched state of mind to Docr Jacob and requested he (as a man of known Loyalty) wou'd go with a message from Lord Kingsbro' to the Army.[1] Doctor Jacob said he wou'd. The few Rebel soldiers that remained in town were called together and spoken to by Keagh and Carty. They agreed readily to surrendering the town, and also appointed Lord Kingsbro' to command it till the arrival of the Army.[2] Most fortunately they changed their mind as to Docr Jacob, and wd not let him leave the

[1] Ebenezer Jacob, M.D., was asked by the rebels to resume his former office of mayor on the 21st June.

[2] The following letter was sent to General Moore: "The inhabitants of all religious persuasions are ready to deliver up the town of Wexford without opposition, lay down their arms, and return to their allegiance, provided that their persons and properties are guaranteed by the commanding officer; and that they engage to use every influence in their power, to induce the people of the country at large to return to their allegiance also. These terms, we hope, Captain M'Manus [really Lieut. Bourke and Robert Carty] will be able to procure.

"Signed, by order of the inhabitants of Wexford.

"MATT. KEUGH."

It was not, of course, in the power of General Moore to treat with the rebels in this way, and the following was sent in reply by his superior officer: "Lieutenant-General Lake cannot attend to any terms offered by rebels in arms against their Sovereign; while they continue so, he must use the force intrusted to him, with the utmost energy for their destruction.

"To the deluded multitude he promises pardon, on their delivering into his hands their leaders, surrendering their arms, and returning with sincerity to their allegiance.

"*Enniscorthy, 22nd of June*, 1798.

"(Signed) G. LAKE."

Maxwell, p. 142 n. See also *ante*, p. 155 n.

town, where he had been kept the entire month attending their sick men. Luckily for him they all knew his medical skill and took good care of him for their own sakes. Mr. Harman of the N. Cork Militia was sent in his Place accompanied by Mr Fragna, a Rebel Chief, who shot the poor young Man about a mile from the town. The Runaways from Goff's bridge and several from Vinegar Hill poured into the town vowing vengeance against every one. Protestants to be sure were first, but the towns-people and all the advisers of a surrender were equally threatened. The Sailors of Wexford took an oath to defend Lord Kingsbro's life, and did fire several shots on the Mob from his lodgings. The great anxiety to kill his Lordship *first* was, I believe, one cause of our escape, for the mob wasted much time in endeavouring to get him.

" About 4 o'clock Mr. R. and Docr Jacob came in. They had been fired at in the Street. Doctor Jacob was as composed as I am *now*, but I really never saw such firmness of mind as he possessed on all occasions. Mr. R. said the *General Massacre* was just going to begin, that he came to try to save us, or rather to share our fate, for he feared we cou'd not escape. However, he had got a boat with men he thought he cd rely on at the end of our house, that we must try to get in, stand the fire of the Rebels from the Quay and in passing under the Bridge, and if we got clear throw ourselves on the mercy of the Gun boats. This was truly desperate. I walked up Stairs and went to a Window. The Rebels were settling them-

selves as before on the Bridge, and sending a boat to the Prison Ship, when, conceive my astonishment, I saw them all begin to run. I flew down Stairs, doubting my Senses, to tell Docr Jacob. He came to the window. It was no Illusion. Run they did in such confusion that I am amazed numbers were not trampled to Death. A general cry, 'The Army are come, they are in the Town!' explained their flight. Wretches out of the Infirmary in their Shirts ran in an incredible short space of time. The Streets were almost clear; about fifty armed Rebels rushed into our house, tore out their Green cockades, threw their arms under the beds, and hoped to escape by being found under Docr Jacob's Roof. He put on his regimentals and went into the Street. A villain that was running off turned and fired at him, he wiped Docr Jacob, then took another pistol and said, 'If I must die I will die like a Cock,' and Shot [at] him. This is what I heard, but as I never asked Docr Jacob myself, cannot be sure of the concluding part. Bostick Jacob, a young boy, saw the villain fire at his father from a window. Mr. Percival the Sheriff galloped on the Quay to our door, said 'Here we are and 12,000 Soldiers with us,' or something to that purpose.

"Imagine *if you can* our feelings, exclamations and conduct. I never can forget the expression of Elizabeth's countenance as she came down Stairs to shake my hands. The Boat that was sent to bring the Prisoners to Torture and Death brought them to Liberty and rapture. Several came to us; one (Mr.

Milward) had been with us ten days before they put him in Prison. No kind of *Decorum* was observed, nothing but *kissing* and embracing. Most of the men cried violently. I wish that dear General Moore cou'd have seen us. He in reality was two miles off and there were only *12* Horsemen in the town, but no one knew that 'till next day. Romantic as it sounds, I saw above five thousand men fly from *one* Horseman. It was supposed above 4000 fled from the *Faith* end of Wexford. They took all the cannon with them and Sir Charles Asgill afterwards [gave] [1] a good account of them. My *Bridge* acquaintance and those under the command of Fitzgerald, Roche and Perry have since spread misery and destruction thro' the county of Wexford and Wicklow. We never heard with certainty what became of Dixon, none of us saw him go over the Bridge, and as he is a very large man and rode a tall white Horse, he cou'd hardly have escaped the observation of more than 12 of us who were all particularly anxious to see *him* depart.[2] I think it was about nine o'clock when Gen[l] Moore's Army *really* arrived and that we were in *safety* after 26 days and nights of the most exquisite misery. Not one hour or even moment of Ease had I experienced from Monday May the 28th. How indeed cou'd I, at the mercy of thousands of Ruffians who might at any time they pleased do whatever they pleased without fear of punishment or even censure! The

[1] Torn in the original.

[2] It is thought that he escaped to America.—See Lecky, Vol. IV., p. 470, and Kavanagh, p. 263 n.

prospect of immediate Death is horrible (as I can tell) but that was little to the horrors every *Woman* must have dreaded.

" I have mentioned that only 12 men were in Wexford for an hour [torn] great body of Rebels fled. Their names I shall add to this. They were coming on with Gen[l] Moore's Army when they saw the flames of two Houses near the Green Walks, for the long intended Scheme of burning the town had actually begun. Mr. Boyd, as I have been told, went up to the Gen[l] and requested permission to ride on and rescue his wife or perish with her. Permission was given, and 11 others joined him. The consequences of their desperate Gallantry I have already told. Never shou'd I have written this but for them; *half* an hour wou'd probably have decided *all* our fates and certainly mine and those in the house with me. We cou'd hardly have escaped in Mr. R.'s Boat, and being in the first house on the Quay, of course, wou'd have been first butchered. Our situation on the arrival of our deliverers you have heard. Mrs. Boyd told me she and Lady Anne Hore were sitting expecting the entrance of their murderers [when they] heard a horse gallop up Street and stop at their door. They went to the window and *saw M[r] Boyd.* Is it not amazing that no one lost their Senses from Joy? Several had done so from terror.

" Names of our 12 Deliverers.—M[r] Boyd—one of the Proscribed; M[r] Percival; M[r] Jos. Sutton; M[r] Archer Bagly; M[r] John Byrne—a *Roman Catholic;* M[r] Hughes; M[r] Stedman; M[r] Archibald Jacob—

Proscribed; Mr John Tench; Mr Boyd's *Servant;* Mr Irwin; Mr John Waddy.

"Copy of Bagenel Harvey's Pass given to me in Wexford May 31st 1798:

"'Permit Mrs Brownrigg, her two young Children and Servant, to pass free. They are Strangers unprotected and have no connection with publick affairs.

"'B. B. Harvey.'

"Copy of Protection from J. Caulfield, the Titular Bishop:

"'Having long known the Bearer, Widow of the late Commnr John Brownrigg, to be a most benevolent Gentlewoman and universally esteemed, I now in the name of Humanity and in the name of Jesus Christ recommend her to the Protection and good offices of every Christian that she may not be injured in her person, property or children. Given in Wexford June 1st 1798.

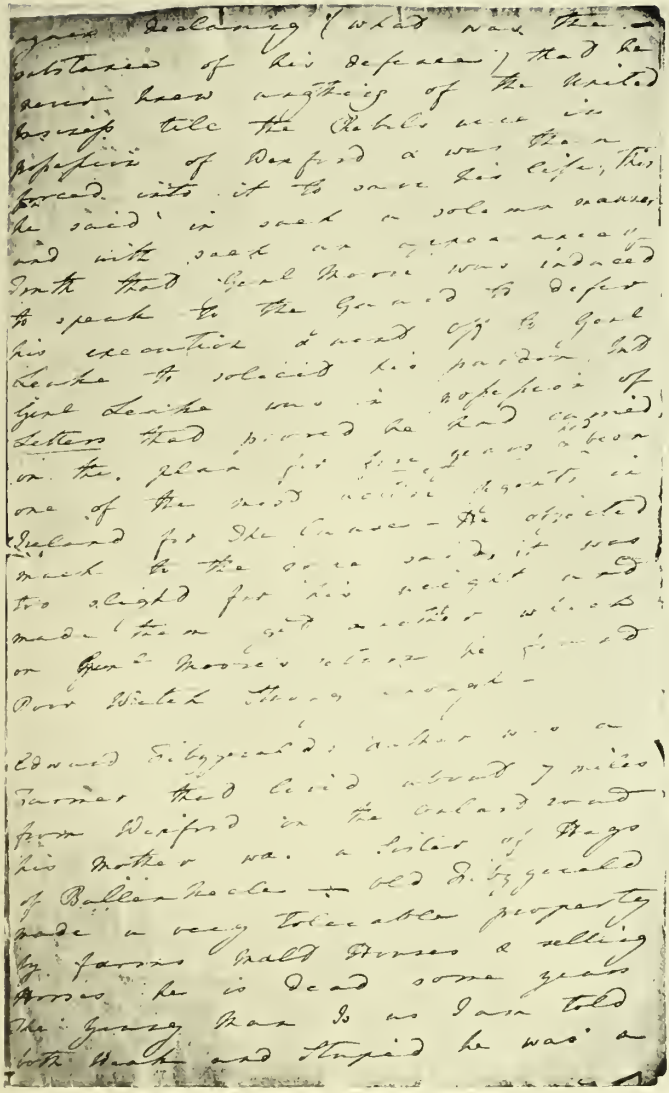
"'James Caulfield.'

"Account of Wexford Rebels from my own Knowledge and Belief.

"Mr. Matthew Keagh was originally a *fifer* in the same Regiment with Genl Johnson, and I heard the Genl recollected it when he sat as one of the Court Martial who condemned him. By some means Keagh procured an ensigncy and then a Lieutcy, came to Wexford with his Regiment, where he contracted a *very* particular friendship with a Gentleman and *Lady* of that town, sold out and made a *visit* to them of

several years. Some family misfortunes obliged Mr. Keagh's Host to leave the Kingdom. The *Lady* also went amongst her friends, and he had an abode to seek for. An excellent one he procured by prevailing on a widow (Mrs Grogan) who was possessed of very considerable property to marry him contrary to the advice and intreaties of all her friends, who did not visit or speak to her for some time after. However, Keagh, who was really a man of abilities and most Gentlemanlike in both appearance and Manners, conquered their dislike so as to live on very friendly terms with all her family, and on most intimate ones with Mr B. B. Harvey, who was a near relation of Mrs Keagh. The Gentlemen of the Country all disliked and shunned him, and he was ever reckoned a dangerous and disaffected man.

"I saw him frequently during *his reign.* His *manners* were humane and plausible, but he never acted up to his professions. He told us one evening he wou'd protect Lord Kingsbro' and keep him in his house if he lost his life by it, and the next morning we heard of Lord Kingsbro's removal to a Poor Ale House in the town. Keagh took great delight in reading the various letters that were found in plundered houses and the Robbed Mails, and went to Mrs C's to read out to her and *23* others a letter from a nephew of hers giving an account of a very delicate and distressing affair that had occurred relative to a Sister of his, and which *till then* had really been kept a Secret from every one. Keagh's defence was amazingly able, several of his Court Martial shed tears, and he



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had no doubt of a pardon to the last moment of his life. He walked from the Jail to the Gallows and bowed to some Ladies he saw at a window with a composed and chearful countenance. At the Gallows he made a Speech, again declaring (what was the substance of his defence) that he never knew anything of the United business till the Rebels were in possession of Wexford, and was then forced into it to save his life; this he said in such a solemn manner, and with such an appearance of Truth, that Gen[l] Moore was induced to speak to the Guard to defer his execution, and went off to Gen[l] Leake to solicit his pardon, but Gen[l] Leake was in possession of *Letters* that proved he had carried on the plan for *five years* and had been one of the most active agents in Ireland for the Cause. He objected much to the rope, said it was too slight for his weight, and made them get another, which on Gen[l] Moore's return he found, Poor Wretch, strong enough.

"Edward Fitzgerald's Father was a Farmer that lived about 7 miles from Wexford on the Oulart road. His Mother was a Sister of Hays of Ballenheale. Old Fitzgerald made a very tolerable property by farms, Malt Houses and selling Horses. He is dead some years. The Young Man is, as I am told, both Weak and Stupid. He was a Lieut. in Col. Lehante's Cavalry, and the intimate friend from childhood of M[r] Edward Turner who was so barbarously murdered without his ever interfering to save him. Mr. Fitzgerald declared during the Rebellion to a lady I knew that he wou'd be thankful to any one [who] wou'd shoot him, his life was so miserable and his power so uncertain.

" Gen[l] Edward Roche was a farmer, and lived on Col. Hatton's Estate at a place called Garrylorgh, near Ferrybank. He was a Serjeant in Lehante's Cavalry, and commanded the Rebels for some days in Lehante's uniform.[1] He married a Miss Dixon, Sister to Cap[t] Dixon and cousin to the Priest that was sent off for transportation by the Wexford Gentlemen before the Rebellion."

Here Mrs. Brownrigg's diary abruptly ends, but in the little packet of manuscript is a letter which may well bring this chapter to a conclusion, for it gives an account of the writer's death.

" 13 December, 1804.
" Bath, 21, Brock Street.

" My dearest Uncle,

" Aunt Mary has no doubt informed you of the melancholy Event which has happened, and which I am sure gave you great concern. My dear mother often desired me not to repine when I lost her. I am determined in every particular to follow all her wishes, tho' I shall find none harder than this one. I try to hide my sorrow as much as possible, but I never cou'd meet with such a misfortune. I have, however, many consolations. I know that she died without the least pain, and that she was spared the only pang she often said death wou'd have for her, parting with me and John. Now, indeed, her children may see the advantage of not putting off repentance to a death bed, but that she often said she had no faith in. For

[1] He deserted on Whit-Sunday.

five days before she died she was in a stupor and quite delirious. She always knew me, and never saw me without kissing me. The last kiss I had from her was about half an hour before she died. Oh! how her sweet face was altered, and how plainly death was written on it. She was quite easy but could not speak.

" My dear Uncle, how I wish you wou'd come over as soon as you can. It would be such a comfort to me to see you. I have often been told by my dear mother that I should always live with you when she was gone. Aunt Mary says that Mama told her a year ago that I should live with her. The last letter I wrote you was by her directions, and you know in that she made me mention living with you. However, a letter that there is for you will settle all that, and all I wish at present is that you would come here.

" Henry John came here on Monday Morning. He was very much affected indeed. Without any partiality I think there cannot live a sweeter tempered or better disposed boy than he is. He minds every word his Aunt says to him, which is what few boys of his age wou'd do. He intends writing to you very soon.

Col[l] Hardy came here on Monday Night and has been as kind and goodnatured as possible. Good bye my dearest Uncle, give my best and most aff[te] Love to my Aunt and dear Anne, and believe me to be your very aff[te] and attached Niece,

" Isabella W. Brownrigg.

[Endorsed: " 13 Dec. 1804. My dear niece Isabella's letter after her Mother's Death."]

CHAPTER IX

WAR IN THE WICKLOW MOUNTAINS

We marched to Comer and fought the soldiers,
And travelled round by the Colliery.
They stole our guns and left us in disorder,
We lost our lives in Kilcomany.

CONTEMPORARY SONG.

IT was not until the morning of the 22nd June that a definite plan of action was determined upon by Edward Fitzgerald, Anthony Perry, and the other chiefs who accompanied the second body of rebels. Eventually they decided at a council of war to make for the Wicklow mountains. If their condition cannot be described as exactly desperate it was bordering on despair, for the loyalist army seemed to be here, there, and everywhere, and their own powder-magazines, or what took the place of them, were almost as empty as Mother Hubbard's cupboard. There must have been much searching of heart when they heard of the terrible doings of the Gorey Cavalry on the 20th,[1] and there was a general cry for vengeance. Hay[2] and Miles Byrne[3] both assume that the entire rebel force marched towards Gorey, but Lecky,

[1] See *ante*, p. 149.
[2] Hay, p. 248.
[3] Miles Byrne, Vol. I., p. 189.

apparently basing his information on Gordon, who says they were under Perry, states that the party consisted of 500 only, the larger body penetrating into Wicklow. After killing seven rebels the yeomen "galloped away full speed," leaving the wretched refugees in the town to look after themselves, with the result that thirty-seven were slaughtered in cold blood.[1] Eventually the rebels came together again, and spent the night at the Whiteheaps, at the foot of Craghen Hill. Thus ended "Bloody Friday," the story of which is told all too prosaically in the Camolin Cavalry Detail Book as follows:

"June 22.—Patrole marched at 6 o'clock, accompanied by the Gorey Infantry, and a number of refugee Loyalists from Gorey and the neighbourhood, but on their arrival in Gorey they were astonished to find no force there but the small party of Cavalry which was ordered there by Gen. Needham. Two men who were prisoners with the Rebels on Vinegar Hill, and escaped from them during the Battle, arrived in Gorey, and informed the Yeomanry there that a large party of Rebels were in Clogh. Sent an express towards Clogh to know if the information was right—express returned and informed the Officers that they had seen a number of Rebels in Clogh street, who, on seeing them, pointed the blades of their Pikes towards the ground, crying out at the same time,

[1] See Lecky, Vol. V., pp. 10–11, and Gordon, p. 157. "No women or children were injured, because the rebels, who professed to act on a plan of retaliation, found on inquiry that no women or children of their party had been hurt" (Gordon, pp. 157–158).

'Come on, we are all Friends.' Express stopped a while and viewed them, and when the Rebels saw the express would not advance to them, the[y] made a charge on them, and fired a shot or two after them. Express arrived in Gorey and reported. Rebel prisoners in the Guard-house brought out and immediately shot. Yeomanry under the command of Lieut. Smith of Camolin Cavalry, took a circuit thro' Clogh and the adjoining hills, and killed some Rebels—on their return to Gorey, the[y] found that some of the Yeomen who had come with them to Gorey in the morning had returned to Arklow, but from Clonattin they could see a large force advancing towards Gorey. Supposed them to be Army on their march from Vinegar Hill, dispatch one file to reconnoitre them, express returns, and reports them to be Rebels. Hastens towards Arklow, is met by Captain Holmes and a party, who had heard of the movements of the Rebels, returned, and shortly met the Gorey Cavalry each carrying an Infantry Man or a Loyalist. Found that the party which remained in Gorey had marched out to meet and attack the Rebels, but finding that they were surrounding them, they retreated. Rebels followed to Saint Austins and killed some of their party. The whole of the Military retreated to Arklow, and this night stood to their Arms, fearing an Attack.

"June 23.—Though there was no attack during the night, the small Garrison of Arklow had reason to think there would be an attack made, but the arrival of a private of the Castletown Yeoman Cavalry, who

had been taken prisoner the day before by the Rebels, between Gorey and Coolgreny, for the present quieted their apprehensions. He reported the Rebels to be in great force, but badly prepared as to ammunition, and were under the command of Mr Perry.[1] They stripped him of his Regimentals, robbed him of his horse and arms, and if he had not had a little friendship with Perry or some other of their leaders, they would have killed him. They brought him prisoner to Woodburne's, near Mount Nebo, where they gave him his dinner of fryed Bacon, and then they set off on their route towards the mountains of Wicklow, and he under cover of night made his escape from them into Arklow. Number killed yesterday in Gorey and between that and Coolgreny said to be upwards of 30, besides a number wounded. Parties ordered to Patrole with caution during the night, and if they should hear or see anything remarkable, ordered to Report.

"June 24.—Reconnoitreing parties ordered out. At 11 o'clock three Rebel Prisoners were brought in, who could give no satisfactory account of themselves. A Court Martial summoned, prisoners put on trial, found guilty and immediately executed. Two file of Yeoman Cavalry with Assistant Commissary to bring in Forrage for the use of the Military Horses. Two file of Yeoman Cavalry arrived from Gen. Needham, Oulart Camp, with the following Orders :

"'General Orders. Oulart Camp, June 23, 1798.

"'The detatchments of Yeomanry Corps in the

[1] The rebels were at the Whiteheaps, as already noticed. Miles Byrne (Vol. I., p. 194) states that skirmishing took place.

neighbourhood of Arklow will hold themselves in readiness to march from thence for Arklow, and remain there 'till further Orders, which they will receive occasionally from the Major of Brigade.

"When Lord Mount Norris's Corps returns to Oulart, the Gorey Corps will be stationed at Gorey, where they will be joined by the remainder of their troop now at Arklow. The other Corps of Yeomanry, viz. 2 Arklow, Coolgreny, Castletown and Wingfield, will be stationed at Arklow.

"'Major Gen. Needham returns his thanks to all the Yeomanry Corps for their spirited and good conduct when in the face of the enemy, and laments they had it not in their power to have given further proof of it, which he is well assured they will do whenever an opportunity offers. As the present situation of the Country does not require their assistance, they are sent convenient to their own districts, where they may be better supplied with whatever is required to recruit them after the fatigue they have undergone. Returns of every kind of Camp Equipage to be given in to the Major of Brigade.

"'C. UNDERWOOD, *Bri. Major.*'

"Patrole for the night to commence at 9 o'clock, and report every two hours. At 12 o'clock, a Yeoman reported that the patrole had seen several fires at a distance in the Mountains, but this caused no alarm in the town. Everything was quiet.[1]

[1] "On the 24th of June, as on the day before, there was very little skirmishing; the enemy's cavalry were dispersed by our gunsmen in every attempt they made to attack us."—Miles Byrne, Vol. I., p. 195.

"June 25.—Two file from each detatchment of Cavalry as an escort with Captain Beauman of Coolgreny Cavalry from hence to Rathdrum. Twenty file with Lieut. Forde of Coolgreny Cavalry on a Reconnoitreing party towards his seat at Ballyfad and the neighbourhood.[1] At 6 o'clock the different escorts arrived in town, and at 7 three file arrived from Oulart Camp with dispatches from Gen. Needham to be forwarded to Wicklow, dispatch from Col. Skerrit to Captain Holmes, and the following Orders to Yeomanry Corps:

"'General Orders. Oulart Camp, June 24, 1798.

"'The Corps of Cavalry under the command of Major General Needham, when they gain their respective troops, will regularly send out Patroles under Non-commissioned Officers, who will take care to maintain the strictest discipline, and who will report every occurrence to their Officer, who will immediately report to the General by express, should the occurrence be of consequence.

"'All Expresses to be forwarded to their place of destination the moment they arrive.

"'Commissioned Officers of Yeomanry are desired

[1] On this day Perry and his followers united with the men under Garret Byrne, who had apparently divided for some reason or other (Hay, p. 259), and together with Joseph Holt attacked Hacketstown, which was but poorly garrisoned by some 200 men, under Captain Hardy and Lieutenant Gardiner. The struggle continued for nearly nine hours, and finding the place untenable, Perry withdrew, the loyalists falling back on Tullow. Gordon (p. 170) and Hay (p. 260) give the number of loyalists killed as ten, and twenty wounded, and of rebels "perhaps" nearly 200, including Michael Reynolds. The former speaks of the courteous treatment of the women by both parties.

on no account to permit the Non-Commissioned Officers or Privates to take their arms with them from Quarters, unless on Duty, as arms that are lost or damaged must be accounted for by the Commissioned Officer.

" ' CHARLES UNDERWOOD, *Brigade Major.*'

" June 26.—This morning a detatchment of Antrim Militia under the command of Lieut. Col. O'Hara, arrived in town, the Lieut. Colonel taking the command of the town. Reconnoitreing parties sent out on different Roads—returned about 2 o'clock. On the Evening parade, Captain Holmes returned thanks to the different Yeomanry Corps for their good conduct and attention to their Duty during the time he had the honour to command them.

" June 27.—At 12 o'clock one file of Camolin Cavalry arrived from Gorey with a dispatch to be immediately forwarded to Wicklow, and orders for the Camolin Cavalry and Loyal Mount Norris Rangers to march immediately to Gorey, which was done with all the expedition possible. Arrived in Gorey at 7 o'clock, but as the Patroles for the night were previously arranged, the Parties had no other Duty to do than to provide lodgings for themselves and horses in the shattered Houses. Samuel Buttle and Edward Stephens, Yeomen of Camolin Cavalry, who were taken prisoners by the Rebels, joined the troop on its arrival in Gorey. The following was ordered to be Read and filed :

" ' General Orders. Gorey, June 27, 1798.

" ' Major General Needham is surprized to find his

Orders neglected, which orders he at present refers to, and that on no account the Yeomen are to leave Quarters without a written pass from their Captain. Any transgressing this Order the General will punish. The Cavalry Yeomen are to parade mounted every morning at 10 o'clock, and every evening at 7 dismounted. The Infantry will parade at the same time. The Captains will be able to account for absent Men. These Orders, and any other that may be issued, are to be read on Parades, and entered in the Orderly Serjeant's Book as formerly directed. The Parade to assemble every morning and evening before Head Quarters.

" ' C. UNDERWOOD, *B.M.*'

" At 9 this evening a Proclamation (of which the following are the outlines) was posted up in Gorey, and ordered to be distributed throughout the Country, ' enabling the respective Generals commanding in the different districts to offer Pardon and Amnesty to such of the deluded insurgents as should come in to an appointed place in each County, and surrender and give up their Arms in 14 days from 25 June ; and certificates of protection to be granted to all who should take the Oath of Allegiance, abjure their former treasonable obligations, and give security for future good Behaviour.'[1]

[1] Rebel leaders, persons under arrest, those guilty of murder or conspiracy to murder, yeomanry who had deserted or administered illegal oaths, persons who had direct communication with the enemy, and the county delegates of the United Irishmen were excluded from amnesty (*see* Alison's *Lives of Lord Castlereagh and Sir C. Stewart*, Vol. I., p. 63 n.). Moore, who was in charge of a detached brigade, passes severe judgment on the way in which

"June 28.—John Redmond, a priest, came into Gorey to surrender himself; committed to the Guard house. At 12 o'clock the entire Yeomanry were inspected by Brigade Major Underwood, after which a private from each troop was ordered out to assist the Commissary in procuring Forrage for the Military

the troops behaved at this trying time, when it was particularly necessary to calm the fears of the peasants and to show that the certificates of protection given to rebels were what they purported to be. The condition of the men and officers of the Militia was as bad as ever, and he stigmatises the latter by calling them "as ignorant and as much a rabble as those who have hitherto opposed us. Our army is better armed and provided with ammunition; that of the rebels has the advantage of zeal and ardour. If the rebellion continues, or if the French effect a landing, even in inconsiderable numbers, I shall consider the country as lost unless a completely different system is adopted." On the 4th July he notes that murders and plunderings had been committed by the rebels in the neighbourhood of Taghmon. "Some of these yeomen were beginning to vex the people by casting up against them what had passed, and threatening revenge; to burn, &c." The General certainly did his best by word and example to counsel mutual understanding, in marked contrast to General Eustace, stationed at Ross, whose troops were acting like the Avenging Angel. Pillage on the part of the yeomen still continued, however. He writes on the 26th July that "Above 1,200 have already surrendered their arms and received 'protections,' and numbers are crowding in every hour. Everything bears the appearance of returning tranquillity, and I am convinced the country would again be quiet if the gentlemen and yeomen could behave themselves with tolerable decency and prudence; but I am constantly obliged to reprove their violence, which prompts them every instant, notwithstanding the orders and proclamations, to gratify their revenge and ill-humour upon the poor inhabitants. I cannot but think that it was their harshness and ill-treatment that in a great measure drove the peasants and farmers to revolt. They seem to have learnt nothing by the lesson, but are as ready as ever to commence their former usage, and from what I observe of the temper of the better sort of people I foresee nothing but discontent and ferment in the country" (see *Diary of Sir John Moore*, Vol. I., pp. 303–309).

Horses. One file from different troops as an escort with prisoners from Dublin to Wexford—ordered to lodge them in Ferns Guard-house. On their return to Gorey, they saw a number of Men supposed to be Rebels on Ballydarnill Bridge near Camolin, who fled on seeing the escort, and escaped by crossing the Bog to the right of the Bridge—could perceive no Arms.[1] At 10 o'clock the following Orders were issued :

" ' General Orders. Gorey, June 28. 9 o'clk P.M.

" ' It is Major General Needham's order that no party of Regulars or Yeomanry shall on any account patrole to-morrow towards Anagh, Mount Nebo, Limerick, or Bolaring before 2 o'clock P.M. and should any Straglers go that way, the General orders that they are not to shoot or otherwise destroy any Man or Men they may meet on those roads.

" ' C. UNDERWOOD, *B.M.*'

" June 29.—A number of Rebels came in this day, gave up some pikes, took the Oath of Allegiance, and got protections from Gen. Needham.

" ' General Orders. Gorey, June 29, 1798.

" ' It is Major General Needham's positive Orders that the daily returns of all the Yeomanry Corps in this town be given in at 7 o'clock in the morning to Brigade Major Underwood, that a general one be made out for the Inspection of the General before 8 o'clock.

[1] On the 26th the rebels had marched towards Craghan Hill ; "the enemy's cavalry from Arklow, Gorey, and other towns, were continually seen at a distance, but they seldom ventured to engage in combat with our men, so that the 27th and 28th passed with very little skirmishing."—Miles Byrne, Vol. I., p. 197.

" ' Any Corps of Yeomanry of Wicklow or Wexford that have not already Orders are to consider themselves on Permanent Duty, and will be entitled to pay from the time they are called together by any of the General Officers of the District, and they must make a return on the first of every Month of the strength of their Corps, and a return of Permanent pay which must be sent to B. M. Underwood, to be forwarded to Colonel Tytler to be inspected, and signed by General Craig, on which their pay will be issued from the War-Office to whatever Agent they may appoint.

" ' CHARLES UNDERWOOD, *Brigade Major.*'

" June 30.—At 10 o'clock intelligence was brought to the Camp on Gorey-hill that a large body of Rebels were in motion towards Gorey,[1] in consequence of which Gen. Needham detatched a party of 5th Dragoons, Antient Brittons, Ballakeen and Gorey Cavalry, and some supplimentary mounted Yeomen, in number near 200, under the command of Lieut. Col. Pulson of the Britons, on a Reconnoitreing party in the direction the Rebels were said to be moving in. As the patrole advanced, they were informed the Rebels were near Ballyellis. The Rebels on seeing the Patrole advancing in so rapid a manner, instantly quit the Cars on which they carried their Women and Baggage,

[1] Their destination was Carnew, and they were under the leadership of Garret Byrne, who was still accompanied by Fitzgerald and Holt. Miles Byrne makes a mistake in the date of the battle of Ballyellis, which, according to him, took place on the 29th June (*see* Vol. I., pp. 197–200). The Ancient Britons suffered severely in this fight.

and advanced under cover of the ditches to annoy the patrole as the[y] passed. When the patrole came up, the Rebels opened a heavy fire on them. The Patrole on the other hand were so enclosed by ditches and walls on both sides the road, they could do no execution. Patrole advanced on towards Carnew, but the Rebels artfully formed a scheme of stopping the communication by placing the Cars above mentioned and other lumber as barriers across the Road, which while the Patrole was endeavouring to force, the whole body of the Rebels fell upon their rear, and put a great number of them and their horses to death. The firing distinctly heard on Gorey Hill. Gen. Needham ordered another party of Cavalry, (Camolin being the chief part) to escort him towards Carnew, as that was the direction the firing was heard in. At Carnew he met two file of the fugitives who related to him the melancholy tidings. Retreated to Gorey Hill, and immediately a strong party of Infantry, with Lieut. Smith and 20 Camolin Cavalry, marched to the relief of the Patrole, but the remnant of the Patrole took a circuit thro' Carnew, and arrived in Gorey in a shattered condition about 2 o'clock. Express forwarded to order the Relief party back to Gorey. Priest Redmond tried by Court Martial and immediately executed.[1] The troops stood to their

[1] Gordon, the Protestant historian, passes severe censure on the execution of Father John Redmond, who, he suggests, was seen but once in the company of a band of insurgents, when he called upon them to desist from plundering Lord Mount Norris's mansion.—*See* Gordon, pp. 185–186, also Lecky, Vol. V., pp. 19–20, and Hay, pp. 266–267.

arms the entire night, and sent out very strong patroles.[1]

We left Fathers John Murphy and Philip Roche on the 21st June at Sledagh.[2] Early the following morning the latter rode off in the direction of Wexford, hoping to make favourable terms for this party of rebels, but he and his hopes were dashed to the ground, not metaphorically, but literally. The unfortunate priest was dragged before a court-martial[3] and hanged on the bridge which had well earned the name of "the bridge of sighs." Moore describes him as "a great, fat, vulgar-looking beast,"[4] Miles Byrne as "very handsome and more than six feet high," adding that he enjoyed considerable influence.[5] So much for a man's opinion when it is biassed.

On the 22nd Father John's division traversed the site of the battle fought by Moore and Philip Roche but two days before. The dead still lay unburied, and the wreckage of things military impeded their progress. At Killedmond, Co. Carlow, a fight took place with the garrison and the barracks was set on fire. The following day saw them at Goresbridge,[6] on the River Barrow, which town fell to the insurgents, the commander of the troops making an ignominious

[1] The rebels marched to Kilcaven Hill.

[2] See *ante*, p. 158.

[3] Miles Byrne makes no mention of the court-martial. As he was present at many of the events narrated in this portion of the chapter, his *Memoirs* have been largely drawn upon.

[4] *Diary of Sir John Moore*, Vol. I., p. 300.

[5] Miles Byrne, Vol. I., p. 152.

[6] Also known as Newbridge.

and semi-humorous retreat mounted behind a dragoon guard, leaving his men to be taken prisoners after firing a few desultory shots.[1] The night was spent on the Ridge of Leinster, and it is said that several of the captives murdered their comrades. On the 24th Castlecomer, Co. Kilkenny, was reached, the collier-inhabitants of Dunain having flocked to Father John's standard on the way. This augmentation of the rebel forces was the cause of much rejoicing at the time, but heaviness came the following morning when it was found that some of them had deserted under cover of night, after having helped themselves to weapons and ammunition.

During the march on the 24th Miles Byrne nearly lost his life owing to a misunderstanding with a company of the Waterford Militia, the rearguard of the troops retreating from Dunain. At Castlecomer General Sir Charles Asgill's men contested the rebel forces, who suffered severely, and some fifty loyalists were killed,[2] the former retiring towards Kilkenny, from whence they had started. Father John, passing into the Queen's County, stayed the night there, and on the evening of the 25th was at Kilcomney Hill, Co. Carlow, near Scollagh Gap, a pass leading into Co. Wexford, where it was hoped that news of the larger body might be obtained. When the camp was astir on the 26th no more colliers were visible; the

[1] A few were killed, and twenty-seven taken prisoners, of whom seven were "condemned as Orangemen" and shot. Sir Charles Asgill arrived after the rebels had evacuated the position (Gordon, p. 166). Hay (p. 256) says twenty-eight were taken prisoners.

[2] Gordon, p. 166.

reinforcement had turned into a depletion. Meanwhile something much more important was happening. Through the haze some of the 1,600 troops[1] under Sir Charles Asgill could be seen advancing. Without artillery,[2] short of ammunition, and encumbered with women who had taken refuge with them, the rebels forced their way through Scollagh Gap, which was very fiercely contested by the cavalry, but the honours of the battle of Kilcomney[3] Hill rested with the English commander. When the Irishmen had time to take stock of things, the redoubtable Father John was missing—an irreparable loss to his followers, who must have discerned, even though they did not admit so much, that the knell of their cause was already tolling. Diligent search was made, but without result. The erstwhile bullet-catcher had disappeared as into thin air."[4] Divided counsels reigned with the usual result.

[1] Lecky, Vol. V., p. 7.

[2] Miles Byrne, Vol. I., p. 170. Gordon (p. 168) says their artillery consisted of ten light pieces. The same authority mentions that seven loyalists lost their lives and some 200 or 300 rebels. He also adds a significant footnote. "I am informed," he says, "that great part of the slain were inhabitants of the country which had unfortunately become the scene of action, who had not joined the rebels nor left their houses; and that great part of the plunder was taken from people of the same description. The behaviour of the army in other places renders this account very probable." *See also* Hay, p. 258.

[3] Sometimes called Kilconnell.

[4] Miles Byrne was unable to find out what actually happened to Father John Murphy, and Lecky (Vol. V., p. 8) says that "There is some uncertainty about his fate." Gordon (p. 185) asserts that the rebel chief was conducted to Tullow, "where, being recognised, he was executed by martial law." Froude (Vol. III., p. 510) states that the priest found his way to Taghmon, and became a victim of the gallows on the 26th June, 1798.

The spirit of compromise seemed altogether lacking in their dissertations, but at least they agreed to differ. One section, under Father Moses Kearns, ceded, making for the woods of Killaughram, which would afford them ample cover and time to recuperate. The remainder decided on making the Wicklow mountains their court of last resort. At Monaseed the latter were told that Perry and his men were stationed near the Gold Mines, but we shall see that they eventually united at the Whiteheaps on the 3rd July, and encamped at Ballyfad.[1] French help was "hourly expected," and American aid in the form of ammunition and provisions anticipated.[2]

[1] See *post*, p. 217 n..
[2] Miles Byrne, Vol. I., p. 182.

CHAPTER X

BANDITTI

They led their wild desires to woods and caves,
And thought that all but savages were slaves.

"JULY 1.—In consequence of the melancholy affair of yesterday, a large detatchment of Military and Yeomanry patroled with great caution towards Ballyellis, but returned without seeing any Rebels. Brought in the bodies of some of the Britons and Yeomen who were slaughtered the preceding day. Hunter Roe and Henry White, Yeomen of Camolin Cavalry, who were detained at home by the Rebels, joined their troop this day. At Evening Parade, there appeared to be missing 25 Antient Britons, 11 Fifth Dragoon Guards, 6 Gorey, and 2 Ballakeen Cavalry, besides a number wounded.

"July 2.—Received Orders to prepare for an inspection at 12 o'clock, which took place accordingly by Brigade Major Underwood, who passed some compliments on the Yeomanry Corps which he inspected. Lord Mount Norris, attended by 10 file of his troop of Yeomanry, on a Reconnoitreing party towards Little Limerick. Returned at 4 o'clk, and drove in some

Cattle, which was given up to the Commissary for the use of the Troops.[1]

"July 3.—One file from each Corps of Yeomanry Cavalry, to be commanded by a Subaltern, ordered to Ferns with Prisoners. All the Yeomanry, both Cavalry and Infantry, inspected by Gen. Needham, after which Reconnoitreing parties of Cavalry were sent out.

"July 4.—One file from each Corps of Yeoman Cavalry order[ed] to Arklow for supplies for the Commissaries Horses—returned, and brought an express to Gen. Needham, and another to Col. L'Estrange, Ferns, which was forwarded with expedition. Lord Mount Norris, attended by a party of his troop, on a reconnoitreing party towards Corrigrua, returned by Ballycanew, and brought in some Cattle and Sheep, which was delivered over to the Commissary. A Serjeant and 12 ordered for the night patrole

[1] On this date a serious affray took place on Ballyraheen Hill, between Tinnehely and Carnew, where 150 yeomen, chiefly of the Shilelah and True Blues of Tinnehely corps (*see* Gordon, p. 174), had a desperate tussle with the insurgents under Garret and William Byrne of Ballymanus, the troops finally rallying in Captain Chamney's mansion, which they defended with great gallantry. Lecky (Vol. V., p. 13) states that the rebels then divided into two bands, one crossing into Co. Kildare via the Wicklow mountains, and the other returning to Co. Wexford. This agrees with Gordon (p. 175). *See also* Hay (pp. 262–265). Byrne makes this take place on June 26th. He gives the date of the Ballyraheen Hill affair as the 1st July, which is wrong. The night of the 2nd was apparently spent by the Wexford men at the Whiteheaps, near Coolgreny; on the 3rd the rebels marched to the Gold Mines, and returned to their former station, encamping at Ballyfad, where those formerly under Father John Murphy and the section commanded by Father Moses Kearns from Killaughram Woods joined them (*see* Miles Byrne, Vol. I., p. 204).

on the road leading to Mount Nebo, from 9 till 5 next morning and Report. At 10 o'clock this night the Chief part of the Garrison received Orders of Readiness to March at 12 o'clock. All the night Patroles called in—all bustle and confusion! The Garrison marched at half past twelve, leaving a sufficient Guard in the town, under the command of Brigade General Grose.

"July 5.—After a very fatiguing March (the morning being wet[1]) the troops found themselves near a mountain called the Whiteheaps, where the Rebels had formed a Camp the day before; but to their surprize and regret, they had quit that post, and moved towards Corrigrua Hill, were met in their flight at Ballygullen,[2] within 4 miles of Gorey, by Gen. Sir James Duffe's[3] Brigade, who had marched from Carnew the preceding night, for the purpose of attacking in conjunction with Gen. Needham. A Skirmish ensued between Gen. Duffe and the Rebels,[4] in which a number of the latter were killed, and on searching the Pockets of some of them, pro-

[1] Miles Byrne (Vol. I., p. 205) mentions that there was also a thick fog. *See also* Hay, p. 262.

[2] Sometimes called Craneford.

[3] Duff.

[4] The enemy defeated the cavalry, of whom about eighty were slain, according to Hay (p. 262), but were unable to stand against Duff's reinforcements. Gordon (p. 176) says the rebels suffered "little loss," but Miles Byrne (Vol. I., p. 208) mentions that "We had vast numbers killed and wounded, no doubt, in this battle, which lasted two hours, fought with equal bravery on both sides"—a remarkable statement for him to make if untrue. Musgrave is indefinite. "About 300 of the rebels," he says, "were thought to have fallen" (p. 519).

tections (which were granted a few days before by Gen. Needham in Gorey,) were found. Gen. Needham's Cavalry joined the pursuit, and killed a number of the Rebels.[1] At 2 o'clock the two Brigades marched into Gorey, bringing with them a powder Mill which the Rebels in their flight left behind them. At 4 o'clock an Officer and 20 men of Camolin Cavalry and a party of the Cavan Militia marched in the direction of Ferns, and encamped for that night between Camolin and Ferns. The Chief part of the Military stood to their Arms this night, and had very large Patroles out.

" July 6.—The detatchments which marched yesterday evening in the direction of Ferns, returned this morning, and brought intelligence that the Rebels had taken post on Corrigrua yesterday, but were driven off it by the Kings County Militia and Newtown-Barry Yeoman Cavalry, commanded by Col. L'Strange.[2] A Corporal and 3 file of Camolin Cavalry

[1] Few contemporary writers mention this, and Gordon (p. 175) asserts that Needham was " too late in his movements." On the contrary, Musgrave (p. 519) tells us that although Needham was unable to advance his infantry sufficiently rapidly, " he pushed on his cavalry, which joined that of Sir James Duff."

[2] This corps was stationed at Ferns. The Marquis of Huntly's famous Gordon Highlanders had also searched for the insurgents, but missed them in the fog (*see* Gordon, p. 176). Miles Byrne (Vol. I., p. 211) disputes Hay's statement (p. 263) that after the battle of Ballygullen the " remaining body of the Wexford men," commanded by Fitzgerald and Garret Byrne, " and some Wicklow men, directed their course to form a junction " with William Aylmer (1777–1820), the leader of the Kildare rebels, " which they accordingly effected." This Miles Byrne dismisses as apocryphal by minutely tracing the route taken by them. On his own showing, however, he and a small detachment deviated from the

to Ferns with Prisoners, to be transmitted from that to Wexford Goal.

" July 7.—At 5 this evening the Cavan Battalion, Camolin Cavalry and Loyal Mount Norris Rangers

main body. Arriving at Glenmalure, their stronghold in the Wicklow mountains, he says that he " met vast numbers of the county of Wexford men, all of whom, like myself, were at a loss to know what direction the main body of our small army had taken " (p. 219). Holt then joined them, and there was skirmishing near Rathdrum. A little later they heard that Fitzgerald, Garret Byrne, Kearns, Esmond Kyan and others, had marched into the counties of Meath, Louth, and Dublin and met with " disaster and complete dispersion " (p. 224). The detachment in which Miles Byrne was serving remained in the mountains until news arrived of the surrender of the French, when the men gradually made their way to their homes (*see* Miles Byrne, Vol. I., p. 236). Kavanagh (p. 258) partly agrees with Hay, but mentions only Father Kearns, Anthony Perry, and Garret Byrne as leaders, and says that they assembled on Carrigrew Hill before starting on their march to surprise Athlone, Co. Meath. At Clonard, on the River Boyne, a yeoman corps of twenty-seven men (Gordon, p. 177) under Lieutenant Tyrrel successfully opposed them on the 11th July. The Wexford men, numbering about 1,500 (Gordon, p. 177), then left Aylmer and his associates, and penetrated with Fitzgerald into the counties of Kildare, Meath, Louth, and Dublin, as Miles Byrne asserts. In endeavouring to effect their escape after another unsuccessful engagement on the 12th Perry and Kearns were captured, tried and executed at Edenderry. On the 14th the rebels encountered the forces under Major-General Wemyss and Brigadier-General Meyrick near Ardee, eventually finding refuge in a bog. Desertions followed, and the remaining body, now much thinned in numbers, was finally routed at Ballyboghill, near Swords, Co. Dublin, by the Dumfries Light Dragoons under Captain Gordon. A few hundred of them, reinforced by deserters from Irish Militia regiments, still held out in the Wicklow mountains and the Killaughram and Monart woods, near Enniscorthy. The latter forces, known as the " Babes in the Wood," were dispersed on the 10th August, and particulars are given in the Detail Book, but the former, usually called the Irish and Catholic Army, and led by Hackett and Holt, were not got rid of so easily. At Castletown and Aughrim they murdered several Protestants, and the yeomen retaliated by

R. J. Hamilton Lith.

Joseph Holt

From an original picture in the possession of Sir William Bathurst
Painted in 1798

JOSEPH HOLT, A PROMINENT REBEL CHIEF

received Orders to March for Ferns the next morning at 5 o'clock. A Serjeant and 12 men ordered for the night Patrole on the road to Ballycanon from 9 to 5 next morning and Report. A Dragoon from the

massacring a larger number of Romanists (*see* Gordon, p. 195). Hackett was killed while attacking Emma Vale, the house of Captain Atkins of the Arklow Yeomanry, on the 20th of the following November, and Holt surrendered for transportation to New South Wales on the 10th of the same month. He afterwards received a free pardon, returned to his native country, and died near Dublin in 1826. Aylmer and Fitzgerald, after negotiating with General Dundas, surrendered to him on the 12th July, "on condition, that all the other leaders who had adventured with them, should be at liberty to retire whither they pleased out of the British dominion." Aylmer went to South America and became colonel of a regiment under General Devereux, receiving his death wound at the battle of Rio de la Hache. In conversation with Fitzgerald Lord Cornwallis elicited the information that "the mob were furious, and wanting to massacre every Protestant; and that the only means they had of dissuading them from burning houses was, that they were destroying their own property" (*Correspondence*, Vol. II., p. 372). The two chiefs mentioned, together with Garret Byrne, were imprisoned in Dublin Castle until the beginning of 1799, and then allowed to go to England. In the following March Fitzgerald and Garret Byrne were arrested at Bristol, but subsequently found their way to Hamburg (*see* Hay, p. 265). Many of the remaining leading spirits did not fare so well, nine being executed on Wexford bridge on the 25th June, including Keugh and Philip Roche, as were B. B. Harvey, Cornelius Grogan, and J. H. Colclough a few days later. William Byrne, brother of Garret, paid the full penalty for his misdeeds. Some seventy rebels were sent to Fort George, Co. Nairn, one of the most solitary places in Scotland, where the majority of them were confined until the truce of Amiens, when they were released.

Lecky, perhaps wisely, contents himself with generalities regarding the subsequent movements of the various divisions of the Irish army until the coming of Humbert to Killala in the following August. He does not even mention the engagement at Ballygullen on the 5th July.

Musgrave (pp. 519–520) sums up the situation as follows: "After this defeat [at Ballygullen] the rebels never appeared in

patrole on the Clogh road came in at 12 o'clock and reported that a shot was fired at the patrole from Charlotte Grove, by which one of the Antient Britons had his thigh broke. The Grove scoured by the military, but no person could be found.

" July 8.—This morning at 5 o'clock, the Cavan Regiment of Militia, Camolin Cavalry and Loyal Mount Norris Rangers, all under the command of Col. Maxwell, marched for Ferns, where the[y] relieved the Kings' County Militia, and Newtown Barry Cavalry, under the command of Col. L'Strange, the above troops having received Orders to occupy their former station at Newtown Barry. A Corporal and 3 file of Ballakeen Cavalry brought in the body of Captain Phillip Hay of the 3rd Regiment of Foot from Gorey, who was arrested in Dublin on a charge of being a leader in the Rebellion at Wexford. He was escorted on to Enniscorthy by a corporal and 3 file of Camolin Cavalry. A Serjeant and 12 men ordered for the night patrole, on all the roads and avenue in and about the Camp of Ferns, to begin at

any part of the county of Wexford, in such force as to meet the military or the yeomen in a pitched battle; but many bands of assassins continued to rob and murder. Part of those who were dispersed on this occasion, went into the counties of Kildare, Carlow, and Meath, under Fitzgerald, Aylmer, Garret Byrne, Perry and Kearns, and spread desolation in their progress. . . . The mountains of Wicklow continued for many months after the asylum of a desperate banditti, who, under Holt and Hackett as leaders, committed plunder and assassination in all the adjacent country. That county, from the strong posts and fastnesses which its steeps, craggy mountains and deep defiles afford, was the last place in Ireland in which rebellion was subdued in the reigns of Elizabeth, Charles I. and King William."

9 o'clock, and come into Quarters at 5 next morning—& to Report.—All well.[1]

" July 9.—Ten file as an escort with Lord Mount Norris and Col. Maxwell to Newtown Barry. A Corporal and 6 men ordered to convey three prisoners in a Carriage to Enniscorthy on their way to Wexford. Orders received for the Cavan Regiment to march for Newtown-barry, in consequence of which a party were ordered through the Country to Press Horses for to convey their baggage thither.

" July 10.—This morning at 6 o'clock, the Cavan Regiment marched for Newtown-barry. At 9 o'clock a Regiment of Mounted and Dismounted Hessians marched thro' Ferns on their route to Carnew. Two file ordered as guides with the Hessians to Carnew. A Corporal and 6 men, as an escort with Prisoners to Enniscorthy. At 12 o'clock the 4th Battallion under the command of Col. Lord Blayney [2] marched into Ferns to continue untill further Orders.

" July 11.—At 9 o'clock the whole Garrison were drawn up by order of Lord Blayney, to witness Punishment inflicted on a private of the 4th Battalion for

[1] Writing from Dublin Castle on this date, Cornwallis tells the Duke of Portland that " No actual force at this moment exists in arms against us, except in the county of Wicklow and the northern boundary of Wexford, and in the county of Kildare, and borders of the counties of Meath and Dublin" (see *Cornwallis Correspondence*, Vol. II., p. 358).

[2] Andrew Thomas Blayney (1770–1834), 11th Baron; served in Flanders 1794–1795; lieutenant-colonel of the 89th regiment in Ireland 1798; major-general in the Peninsular 1810; captured and imprisoned in France 1810–1814; lieutenant-general 1819. Lord Blayney had already proved his ability in helping to pacify Ulster.

a theft he commited in his last quarters—received 200 lashes. Four Prisoners brought in from Gorey, —forwarded to the Camp of Scarawalsh by a Corporal and 6 men. Two file from hence to Carnew, as an escort with two Hessian Officers. Night patrole the same as last and to report.—All well, 'till about 4 o'clock, when a few Men were observed on the rising ground near Miltown. On enquiry they were found to [be] persons who had been at the Priests about their lawful business—reprimanded by the Officer of the Patrole.

" July 12.—This morning the following Orders were received from Edward FitzGerald Esqre Brigade Major of Yeomanry, County Wexford.

" ' Enniscorthy, July 12, 1798.

" ' Brigade Orders for the Yeomanry Corps.

" ' The Corps in this, and all other stations in this County, are to particularly attend to keep an account of the different details given daily by each Corps for Duty, (in a Book kept for that purpose,) as ordered by a late Regulation ; and, also, to file their Morning and Evening reports for inspection if necessary.

" ' B. Edw. FitzGerald, *B.M.*'

" July 14.—One File as an escort with Col. Cleghorn from hence to Enniscorthy. Lord Mount Norris attended by 20 file, went on an information he had received of Arms and Plunder being concealed in the neighbourhood of Camolin and Slievebuoy—found on said information some Wine in bottle, and brought in three Prisoners.

" July 15.—Ten file as an escort with Lords Blayney and Mount Norris, and others of the Officers on a Reconnoitreing party—saw nothing particular. This evening Mathew Bates, a private in the Loyal Mount Norris Rangers, was killed by an accidental Shot from the Musquet of Joseph Kendaick, another private of the same Corps.

" July 17.—Ten file by order of Lords Mount Norris and Blayney on a Reconnoitreing party on the mountains between Carnew and Camolin—returned at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, when the whole of the troop and part of the 4th Battalion were ordered out, on an information given to Lord Mount Norris of the Rebels having assembled on Killthomas Hill, which information proved to be erroneous, nothing having appeared on said Hill but a parcel of Horses supposed to belong to Rebels, in number about thirty ;—returned at 9 o'clock same evening.

" July 18.—Twelve file with Lord Mount Norris on a Reconnoitreing party in and about the neighbourhood of Camolin ; returned about 3 o'clock and brought in a prisoner charged with being a Rebel. ' Orders. The Yeoman Cavalry and Infantry are ordered to Parade precisely at 10 o'ck in the morning and at 7 in the evening every day.'

" July 19.—The whole troop paraded at 9 o'clock by order of Lord Mount Norris, and at 10 were reviewed and inspected by Lord Blayney, and afterwards went thro' the whole of the Exercise much to the satisfaction of his Lordship. Immediately after the Inspection took place, the chief part of the Troop

and some of the 4th Battalion were ordered to attend Lords Mount Norris and Blayney on an information which the former had received of Rebels being concealed in a Cave in the neighbourhood of Rossminoge about 6 miles from hence—could not find any such Cave, notwithstanding there was very diligent serch made.

" July 20.—The Cavalry paraded at 10 o'clock as usual, but on account of the wetness of the morning, were ordered back to their Stables.

" July 21.—Two file as an escort with Lord Blayney to Gorey. On the return of Lord Blayney, he ordered Lieut. Brownrigg and the Loyal Mount Norris Rangers to march immediately for Gorey, and remain 'till further Orders. One file express to Enniscorthy, to be forwarded from that to Major Gen. Hunter[1] at Wexford.

" July 22.—Six file as an escort with Lord Mount Norris to Dublin.

" July 25.—A Corporal and 6 men, by order of Lord Blayney on a reconnoitreing expedition to Kilmuckridge and thro' the Mackamores.[2] Saw a number

[1] " General Hunter was indefatigable in his exertions to appease the minds of the people, and to restore confidence and tranquillity to this distracted country. In this he was very materially assisted by the address and exertions of Captain FitzGerald, who by the special appointment of the British Government, was attached as a proper person to attend the general as brigade-major on the service in Ireland ; and to this station besides his acknowledged military talents, a recent display of courage, independent of his knowledge of the country, certainly recommended him. He was even invested with the extraordinary privilege of recommending such as he thought deserving of the protection and mercy of Government."—Hay, pp. 270–271.

[2] The Macomores is a tract of country extending from Courtown to Blackwater. Many representations having been made to

of the Rebels runing in different directions as if collecting a force, and towards the afternoon as they advanced on to Peppards Castle, they saw a force of between 60 and 100 armed with Muskets, Pikes, &c. On seeing this force collected, they instantly returned to Quarters. One file express from Commanding Officer in Gorey, to Gen. Grose, Enniscorthy.[1] At 6 o'clock this evening, Lord Blayney [2] with the 4th Battalion under his command, marched from hence, and took with him one file to conduct him the best road to Ross; in consequence of his quiting Ferns,

Government that the inhabitants of the district were contemplating rebellion, it was determined that the troops under General Hunter, Brigadier-General Grose, Lord Blayney, Brigadier-General Skerret, and General Eustace, the last of whom commanded at Arklow, should put a summary stop to the intrigues alleged to be going on by decimating the territory of the Macomores. According to Hay (p. 275) General Hunter received a deputation, whose chief grievance was that the continued cruelties of the soldiery and yeomanry precluded the rebels taking advantage of the clemency extended to them by means of protections. Although not noted in the Detail Book, we are told by the same authority that Surgeon White of the Camolin Cavalry was sent by FitzGerald to inquire into the matter, with the result that "the people unanimously surrendered to him, and continued to flock into Wexford for several days after, to give up their arms and receive protections" (Hay, p. 277). Captain Hawtrey White and another also forwarded alarming reports to Government which were unfounded, and although a court-martial was mooted, it never took place. Various addresses were afterwards sent by "the Macomore boys," as they called themselves, to Major FitzGerald and General Hunter, in which they expressed a deep sense of loyalty, and offered to march against Humbert when he landed at Killala. Peppards Castle seems to have been their head-quarters. In this connection, pp. 272–283 of Hay's *History* are well worthy of special study.

[1] Brigadier-General Grose, with the South Cork Militia.

[2] In command at Ferns.

the whole troop patroled from 9 o'clk in the evening 'till 5 the following morning. All was quiet in the neighbourhood of Ferns, but the Country at a distance seemed much disturbed.

" July 26.—About 2 o'clk this day Lieut. Smith with a Corporal and one file went to Enniscorthy to Gen. Grose, to know how he was to act in consequence of Lord Blayney's having evacuated Ferns the preceding evening. General Grose could not give any order but recommended him to proceed to Wexford to General Hunter. Lieut. Smith sent back the Corporal to Ferns with orders for the troop to stand fast, and protect themselves and the Commissary stores, until his return. The whole troop mounted Guard on the Commissary stores from 9 to 5. Found all well.

" July 27.—Lieut. Smith returned from Wexford without receiving any positive orders from Gen. Hunter, as he had no official account of Lord Blayney's quitting Ferns, but recommended him to remain there a day or two, until he should be more fully acquainted why Lord Blayney evacuated that post. Five file of the escort with Lord Mount Norris to Dublin returned this evening, and brought the following letter, which was ordered to be entered in the Orderly Book :

" ' Dublin Castle 27 June, 1798.

" ' My Lord,

" ' I have it in Command from his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant to inform you that his Excellency has been pleased (thro' your recommendation) to

promote John Colley Smith Esq. to be first Lieutenant of your Lordship's Corps of Yeoman Cavalry in the room of Thomas Bookey Esq. deceased; and his Excellency has also been pleased to appoint John Jones Esq. to be second Lieutenant, in the room of John Colley Smith Esq. promoted.

" ' I have the Honor to be, My Lord, &c. &c.

" ' WILLIAM ELLIOTT.

" ' Rt. Hon. Earl Mount Norris, &c.

" ' P.S. Commissions shall be made out immediately.'

" July 28.—This morning the following Orders was received from B.M. FitzGerald, and adressed to the Officers commanding the Yeomanry Troops stationed at Ferns:

" ' Brigade Orders. Wexford, July 25, 1798.

" ' You are requested when you send Gentlemen of your Corps to this town on Duty or otherwise, that you will caution them to call at the Brigade Major's Quarters to enquire for Orders, &c. Pursuant to General Orders of the 21 Instant, you will examine into the number of Horses taken from the Rebels, & are now possessed by the Gentlemen of your Corps with their descriptions, and report them to the Brigade Major as soon as possible.

" ' By Order of the Brigade Major,

" ' T. FITZSIMMONS, *Secy.*'

" One file with an express from Lieut. Gen. Hulse,[1]

[1] Sir Samuel Hulse (1747–1837), third Baronet. Served in Flanders 1793; lieutenant-general 1798; sent to Ireland with reinforcements 1798; with Helder Expedition 1799; Lieutenant-General of Chelsea Hospital 1806; field-marshal 1830.

Wexford, to Lieut. Gen. Lake, Royal Hospital, Dublin, to be forwarded with all expedition. The file on furlough at Ross returned this evening, and brought intelligence that the 4th Battalion arrived in Ross very early on the morning of the 26, and without making any great halt were marched off for Taghmon.

" July 29.—Three file as an escort with Commissary Foley and his stores, from hence to Newtown Barry,—on their return back to Ferns, the troop evacuated that post, and marched for Gorey.

" July 30.—This morning the troop paraded at 9 o'clock, and at 10 were inspected by Brigade Major FitzGerald, who ordered them again to Ferns, where they immediately returned, except two file which he ordered to remain behind, for the purpose of escorting him to Wexford.

" July 31.—At 12 o'clock this day the Dublin County Regiment of Militia, under the command of Lieut. Col. Finlay, marched into Ferns and encamped in the Bishop's lawn. Three file by order of Col. Finlay dispatched to Newtown Barry, to order the Commissary and his stores back again with all expedition."

The rebels had now all but given up the unequal contest. Towards the end of the month the corps under Moore was made a moving body by Cornwallis, the idea being that it could render service wherever necessary. In reality, its special work, assisted by Lord Huntly's regiment, was to run to earth the few remaining rebels who were still at large in the

mountains of Wicklow and in the neighbourhood of the capital. "As the different detachments were directed to keep constant patrols on the mountains," we learn from the General's informative Diary, "whilst the rest kept possession of the glens, the poor devils were kept constantly on foot and all means of subsistence taken from them. They soon dispersed and threw away their arms, and the greatest part of them came in and accepted the protections which were still held out to them. They would have done this sooner had it not been for the violence and atrocity of the yeomen, who shot many after they had received protections, and burned houses and committed the most unpardonable acts. These, of course, shook faith in the Government, and lessened the confidence the people ought to have had in their protection. I was altogether three weeks in Wicklow, during which the country was completely quieted and the inhabitants at their work. I told Lord Cornwallis that in my opinion the country would remain quiet if the gentlemen would return to their estates and treat the people with justice; the presence of the troops was perhaps necessary for some time longer, but more to check the yeomen and Protestants than the people in general."[1] Cornwallis confesses that the corps under Moore and Huntly were sent because they could be depended upon, "for the shocking barbarity of our national troops would be more likely to provoke rebellion than to suppress it."[2]

[1] *See* Vol. I., p. 311. Dated Blessington, 26th July.

[2] Marquis Cornwallis to Major-General Ross, Dublin Castle, 28th July, 1798.—*Cornwallis Correspondence*, Vol. II., p. 379.

On the 17th July Castlereagh read a message to the Irish House of Commons to the effect that his Majesty recommended the compensation of loyalist losses. The following letters refer to this :

" Dear Sir, " July 31st 1798.

" I am very sorry for the Cause of your removal to Gorey, but must desire that you will return to Ferns as soon as ever you find the Army shall have repossessed it. Business of Importance still keeps me in Dublin, but I trust that a very few days will enable me to go back to the Country, where I really am anxious to be 'till things shall have been happily adjusted! How far the present pacific Disposition of our Government will contribute thereto, Time will discover; I shall therefore postpone any opinion upon the Subject. You will be advised of the time for the Loyal Sufferers putting in their Claims to the Bounty of Parliament, and must have an Exact Schedule ready to lay before the House of Commons, supported by your affidavit, setting forth your Losses! Apprise your Neighbours of this, in order that they may also be prepared.[1]

[1] Affidavits of the claimant, the minister of the parish, and of the claimant's landlord, or his agents, were to be sent with estimates of the damage sustained to the commissioners (see also *post*, p. 283). " Frequently," says Gordon (pp. 201–202), " different sons and daughters of the same man, though unmarried, and constituting part of his household, made separate claims, beside that of the father. Frequently four affidavits were demanded for one claimant, for subsistence, his house, his instruments of agriculture, and his general losses. If any informality was found in the estimates (which, from the hurry of the persons paid to draw them, often happened), the three latter affidavits must be made again a second, or perhaps a third time; so that ten affidavits were sometimes made by a clergyman for one person."

ROBERT STEWART, VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH
From an engraving in the collection of Mr. H. F. B. Wheeler

" Remember me to all my Corps and to all other friends and believe me,

" My Dear Sir,

" Your's faithfully,

" Mt Norris."

[Address: " Dublin, August Two (no three) 1798. Lt Smyth, Camolin Cavalry, Gorey.—Mount Norris."]

[undated]

" My Dear Smith,

" Finding that Government were giving a temporary relief to those loyal Subjects who have Suffered in the present rebellion I thought it a duty I owed to my friends that they sh^d^ not be neglected, if I have done wrong not having their instructions I hope it will be imputed as a friendly interposition in me only. I took the liberty of sending in an affidavit to the Commissioners on y^r^ behalf stating that you had Sustained a loss of 600£ in Malt, Barley and other grain, and that your Household furniture, Horses, Cows and other goods with wairing apparel Amounted to 400£ and upwards, and this day I rec^d^ 30£ which I have given to Mary, who sends every article necessary for her Grandmother and Aunt, with instructions for them at any time to send to Mary or me and that whatever they sh^d^ want shall be forwarded, as also if you sh^d^ require anything let me know or Mary and it shall be carefully sent, she was anxious to send you money, but I perswaded her not 'till we heard from you, blame me and me only for all that has been done. On Rec^t^ of this send me an affidavit made before Lord Mount Norris or any other Justice of the peace of the

Amt of yr loss allowing amply for it [1] and forward it me and I shall do every necessary for you and by it I shall be enabled to recover a proportion for you, in yr absence here along with the affidavit get the Signatures of as many respectable people to certifi at the bottom of the affidavit, and if they were to Swear to it, so much the better. Mary is with us she Mrs Jenkin and Robert Join in love to you and Thomas. Remember me kindly to all our Brother Soldiers, I have also done the same for Mr Patk Cranwell and for Mr Harrison and recd for them 10£ each. I gave the 10£ to Mary Cranwell who is with us also, and to Mrs Harrison who is at Dances. I write this opportunity to Mr Harrison and Mr Cranwell to forward me the necessary affidavits that I may be entitled to claim for them again with you. I have a very great affection with every good wish to assist and promote the happiness of every loyal person, in the County [of] Wexford particularly and it wd be doing a friendly Act if you wd communicate to as many of our protestant friends as have suffered to forward me their affidavit of their loss, our friend Mathw Fitzsimons shd not be forgotten, the Boyces of Mt Howard, Miss Bass, and poor Richard Swain, Mr. Jno Jones and Mrs Humber are to be with me in the Morg. However if Jno Jones was to forward a similar affidavit he wd recover in proportion, if from my

[1] Referring to the loyalist claims, Taylor (p. 168) makes the following comment: "Many families, who, before the rebellion, were in comfortable situations, are now reduced to scanty means; and many of another description, who were in abject want at its breaking out, are now in affluent circumstances."

knowledge of the Inhabitants of that part of the Country sh[d] not notice all I beg you may give them instructions and if they remit it me I shall be happy to do every necessary in my power. M[r] Gan who was tried yesterday is to be hanged and beheaded tomorrow at twelve, he is foreman to Jackson a very handsome young fellow and will grace the *leaf*. I commanded the Stevens Green Infantry at the Execution of the Shears, it was done handsomely, no Surgeon could better hit the amputating their heads than Thomas the hangman. Remember me again and again to all our brother Soldiers and Sportsmen. I hope to spend many happy days with you all in y[r] own Country.

" Y[rs] ever Sincerely,

" M JENKIN [1]

" No. 6 King S[t] Stephens Green.

" Your friend Arth[r] Colley is very indefatigable to serve all his friends."

" Dublin, August 7, 1798.

" Dear Sir,

" I am glad to find that the 4th Batallion of the Flank Companies, has been replaced by so respectable a Regiment as that of Dublin. I have not been well for some days, owing to change of air and mode of living. This circumstance, which affects my Bowels, and some Business of Importance still detains me here. Besides, I am labouring the Point of Compensation for my suffering Brothers, as otherwise how can things go on ? As to Duty, I am sorry

[1] Meredith Jenkin, Lord Mayor of Dublin, 1804–5.

it falls so hard upon you, but, when I go down, I will take my Share *with my brave fellow Soldiers.* We cannot expect to be paid by our King and Country, without earning our Pay. There is not anything new in Town.

" Your's faithfully,

" Mt Norris.

" Remember me to all Friends."

[Address: " Dublin, August Seven, 1798. Lieu^t^ Smyth, Camp, Ferns.—Mount Norris."]

CHAPTER XI

THE COMING OF THE FRENCH

Remedy for Ireland? To cease generally from following the Devil! No other remedy that I know of.—CARLYLE.

THE first eight entries in the Detail Book for August are of no special interest, being solely concerned with unimportant military matters. The record then proceeds:

"August 9.—No Duty except the usual parades, which are regularly attended to. Night Patrole mounted as usual at 9 o'clock, and at ten were ordered in, in consequence of an express which arrived from Col. Maxwell, Newtown Barry, to Lieut. Col. Finlay, desiring that he would march that night with what troops he could spare, and join him at 4 o'clock the following morning at the Woods of Monart,[1] as there had been information lodged of a Body of the Rebels being concealed in the woods. The troops accordingly marched from Ferns about 12 o'clock, leaving a sufficient Guard of Cavalry and Infantry under the command of Captain Jones of the Dublin Militia.

"August 10.—At 4 o'clock this morning the troops arrived at the woods of Monart, where they were

[1] *See* footnote, Chap. X., p. 220.

joined by Gen. Grose and his forces from Enniscorthy, Col. Maxwell with the troops from Newtown Barry, a troop of Cavalry from Borris in the County of Carlow, and a part of the 4th Battalion. The[y] instantly determined on surrounding the Woods with the Cavalry and sending the Infantry in to scour them. The Infantry found a number of Rebels in the woods, which they killed, and many more broke out, which were instantly pursued by the Cavalry, all of whom were either killed or taken prisoners. The principal part of the Rebels killed and taken prisoners were found armed, and proved to be Deserters from the Antrim, Cavan, and Kings County Regiments of Militia. The business of the day being compleated, the troops returned to their respective quarters, and about 7 o'clock this evening the forces under the command of Col. Finlay returned to Ferns without sustaining any loss, but very much fatigued on account of the quantity of rain which fell during the night."

When Lord Mount Norris heard of this affair he sent the following congratulatory letter to his trusted lieutenant :

" Aug : 16th, 1798

" Dear Sir,

" I am happy to hear of your success at the Woods, and the more so, as the deserters from the Cavan and Antrim Regiments have suffered for their Apostasy. It is my Wish and the Command of his Majesty, that religious Subjects should not be talked of, as many of the Militia Regiments are composed of

R. Catholics, and have behaved as well as any man could. Whoever therefore discusses religious Subjects is a fool, a knave or a madman. You will desire John Risson, who you say has supplyed our men with meat, to draw upon me for twenty Guineas at three days sight, and I will pay it. The absurd letter to Jimmy Blake was very hasty and ill considered! It shows the Folly and malevolence of the Person, who set it on Foot. The Commissary, Mr. Foley must send up his account to me, in order that it may be charged to each man's account.

"Your's faithfully,

"Mt Norris.'

"August 11.—One file with a dispatch from Brig. Gen. Grose, Enniscorthy, to Maj. Gen. Hewitt,[1] Dublin.

"August 16.—A Serjeant and 4 file as an escort with a prisoner from hence to Wexford, on a charge of Wilful Murder. Two file as an escort with Lieut. Smith, by order of Col. Finlay, to search for two Men, by name Ferguson and Proctor, charged with being concerned in the Conspiracy with the 4th Battalion while they were quartered at Ferns. Apprehended them, and lodged them in the Guard Room at Ferns.

"August 17.—A Corporal and 3 file, as an escort with two prisoners Ferguson and Proctor, from hence to Enniscorthy, to be transmitted from that to Ross.

"August 18.—About 9 o'clock this evening Lieut.

[1] Major-General Hewitt (1750–1840), Adjutant-General in Ireland; created a Baronet in 1813; Commander-in-Chief in the East Indies 1807–1811.

Col. Finlay with Lieut. Colman and a party of the Dublin County Militia, accompanied by an Officer and 12 file of Cavalry, went out in pursuit of some Rebels who had seduced one of the Grenadiers belonging to the Dublin Regiment to desert; after marching two or three miles from the Camp and searching some places where information had been given, the whole returned without being able to find these offenders, as they had all forsaken their habitations."

It is evident that the few insurgents who still held out in the neighbourhood of Enniscorthy were given no rest by the energetic and more numerous loyalists, and it may not be out of place at this point to quote Lord Cornwallis's important "Memorandum as to the State of Affairs in the County of Wicklow," issued at this time. It sums up the actual outlook for those of the Wexford insurgents who had crossed their native borders:

"Aug. 20, 1798.

"When the troops were sent about a month ago into the county of Wicklow, the country appeared a desert, for though the inhabitants were not all in arms they fled everywhere on the approach of the army—old men and terrified women were alone to be found in the cottages.

"The good conduct of the troops, who were kept from marauding, made to pay for everything they got, and not permitted to molest the people, together with kind treatment and encouraging language from the officers, gradually brought back the inhabitants

to their houses. The proclamation and humane intentions of Government were then explained and circulated; and protection offered to such as would bring in their arms.

"At this time a considerable body of Rebels in arms still haunted the mountains who threatened death and destruction to all who should take protections; and the people owned that they were afraid to take them, lest the troops should be withdrawn and leave them afterwards to the mercy of the mob. This fear diminished daily, and at last when the mob was dispersed and began to surrender, the greatest forwardness appeared in every one to get a protection —the country is now full of people at work.

"This submission on the part of the people, is a submission to a necessity undoubtedly. Men's sentiments or prejudices are not to be changed in an instant—I believe it however to be sincere. They find themselves the weakest and have suffered so much by the rebellion, that they wish now to be quiet. It is by kind treatment that these sentiments are to be encouraged. If their intention was to rise in the winter, it can hardly be supposed that they would be at the trouble to get in the harvest, and collect it where it will be still more in the power of the troops, either to use or to destroy it.

"The minds of both parties are unfortunately still much irritated by mutual and recent injury, the loyal party, conscious of their own merit and good conduct, see with disgust that by the pardon held out, the authors of their ruin are placed nearly

in as good a situation as themselves. Some acts of violence and revenge from the lower orders of yeomen have excited great alarm, lessened the confidence in the promises of Government, and have tended to increase that hatred and animosity between the parties, which it is the interest of all to destroy.

" Enlarged views and liberal conduct are not to be expected from uneducated men ; and it is to be regretted that the gentlemen have not more generally taken advantage of the neighbourhood of the troops, to visit their tenants. Their presence and example would have been of much use in restraining the lower orders of yeomen, and their advice would have been equally so to the General Officers commanding. They would also upon the spot have been able to form more just notions of the state and temper of the country.

" Contrary to the words of the proclamation, protections have been granted where arms have not been surrendered. It would have been difficult for officers otherwise to have fulfilled the spirit of their instructions.

" It was known that many men never had arms; some had surrendered them before the rebellion broke out, and others certainly lost them in the different retreats, when pursued by the soldiers. In such instances after taking every means to obtain the existing arms by delay and the refusal of protections, officers were guided in the final delivery of them, by their own discretion, aided by such information as they could obtain from the gentlemen, clergy,

and priests near them—that they may have been mistaken in many instances cannot be doubted—that improper people have obtained protections, and that arms still exist among the people is most natural to suppose.

"A great object was to get the people to return to their industry; this they could not do without a protection. Had officers refused them to all who denied having arms, they must either have arrested them, or, if left at liberty unprotected, have forced them for immediate safety to take refuge with the Rebels in the mountains.

"The county of Wicklow has now a quiet and settled appearance; after such a convulsion, and in the neighbourhood of woods and mountains, occasional robberies and murders are still to be expected. These will be more effectually stopped and prevented by the presence and vigilance of the gentlemen, their good offices to their tenants, and by assisting the poor to rebuild their cottages, than by the exertion of troops." [1]

"August 22.—Four file as an escort with a private and drummer of the 13th Regiment of Foot, taken up by Lieut. Col. Finlay on suspicion of being deserters, not having a proper pass. Lodged them in the Guard-house at Enniscorthy. Two file with Lieut. Smith by order of Col. Finlay, to apprehend two persons of the name of Keys, who were charged with being concerned in the Conspiracy with the 4th Battalion

[1] *Cornwallis Correspondence*, Vol. II., pp. 387–389.

while encamped at Ferns, one of whom was apprehended, and safely lodged in the Guard-house.

"August 23.—One file by order of Lieut. Smith, to apprehend a person named Keys charged with being actively concerned in the Conspiracy with the 4th Battalion, during their encampment at Ferns. After making diligent serch, they returned without being able to discover him.

"August 24.—Four file by order of Lieut. Col. Finlay to press Horses and Cars for the use of the Dublin County Regiment, they having received orders to be in readiness to March at 8 o'clock tomorrow morning. The prisoner Keys made his escape from the Guard-room about 12 o'clock this night.

"August 25.—At 8 o'clock this morning Lieut. Col. Finlay, with the Regiment under his command, marched from hence to Enniscorthy. Troop mounted Guard this night to defend themselves and the Commissary Stores—at 12 o'clk an express arrived from Major Gen. Hunter, Wexford, to Lord Castlereagh, Dublin Castle, which was immediately forwarded on to Gorey by two file.

"August 26.—Captain Jones of the Dublin County Regiment arrived this day from Waterford. Gave information that the French had landed in the Bay of Killala, in the County of Mayo."

Procrastination and promises had been the leading features of the policy of the French Government in Irish affairs since Hoche's abortive attempt in the winter of 1796. Wolfe Tone and his colleagues pleaded

for help in and out of season with an amount of fervid eloquence which should have appealed to all lovers of "Liberty, equality, and fraternity." Truth to tell, the Directory soon lost interest in the Irish, although they had a common cause; England and English gold were larger and more profitable prey. An expedition on a fairly large scale was possible, but the men in authority professed to be in favour of small, partial attempts, which was perhaps their way of getting out of an awkward situation without actually breaking faith. Towards the end of June, 1798, Admiral Bruix, the French Minister of Marine, whose name will be always associated with that of Napoleon in the later projects for the invasion of the British Isles, bestirred himself in the matter, and resorted to the half-measure of endeavouring to procure a number of frigates and smaller boats of the Batavian navy for the purpose. The Dutch, however, were not oblivious to the perils of such an attempt; Camperdown had taught them a severe lesson, and they temporised for the time being.

Eventually Schérer, the French Minister of War, issued instructions for troops to be concentrated at Brest, and on the 15th July two contingents embarked at that port and at La Rochelle. This good beginning augured well, but many of the soldiers were ordered off almost at once to the Rhine. It was then decided that General Humbert[1] should sail from Rochefort

[1] Joseph Amable Humbert (1767–1823). He was senior officer of the "Legion of France," which sailed with Hoche in the Bantry Bay Expedition of 1796.

in the frigates *Concorde* (44), *Médée* (38), and *Franchise* (44), the naval command being given to Captain Savary. General Hardy and his division were to sail simultaneously from Brest, in a ship-of-the-line and six frigates under Bompard, to be followed by a larger body under General Chérin. The total strength of the force was originally estimated at 8,000 troops, but it suffered much in the process of pruning. With characteristic courage, and urged on by the voluble Napper Tandy,[1] Humbert lost no time in carrying out the work entrusted to him, and on the 5th August his armament was completely ready. Considerable trouble followed, for the troops were clamouring for arrears of pay and had also been promised three months' wages in advance. How the General managed to raise the money is not quite clear, but Wolfe Tone's son tells us that Humbert called upon the merchants and magistrates of La Rochelle to advance the necessary sum.[2] On the following day the division weighed anchor, having eighty officers and 930 non-commissioned officers and men, mostly recruited from the Vendéan army, on board, including Matthew Tone,[3]

[1] James Napper Tandy, born in Dublin 1740, died in France 1803. He was arrested at Hamburg in 1799 and handed to the British authorities. After being tried and acquitted on a point of law he was sentenced to death on a second trial in 1801, but pardoned at the instigation of Napoleon and Cornwallis, although he had to leave Ireland.

[2] *The Autobiography of Theobald Wolfe Tone, 1763–1798*, Vol. II., p. 347.

[3] Matthew Tone (1770–1798). Brother of Theobald Wolfe Tone. Captured at Ballinamuck, and executed 29th September, 1798.

Teeling,[1] and Sullivan,[2] and a cargo of 3,000 muskets and bayonets, 3,000 pouches, 400 swords, 200,000 cartridges, 1,000 French uniforms, ammunition, a liberal supply of biscuit, several barrels of brandy, and three field-guns.

The secret instructions issued to Captain Savary, who hoisted his flag on the *Concorde*, are deserving of study if only on account of their extraordinary nature. He was to use the utmost precautions to avoid falling in with the British squadrons and to steer for Achill Head, the Mullet, or Cape Tellin. After having disembarked the troops the ships were to return to France. Should the enemy make a "successful attack during the landing," the soldiers were to be reinforced by the crews and the ships burnt! This novel method of campaigning has a certain grim humour about it which makes one surmise that the French Government or the person who was responsible for the secret instructions had some ulterior motive in cutting off the only way of escape. If Savary came up with Bompard, the latter, being his superior in rank, was to assume command.[3]

[1] Bartholomew Teeling (1774–1798). He paid his first visit to France in 1796, and served with Hoche under the name of Biron; *Aide-de-camp* to Humbert. Executed the 24th September, 1798.

[2] Sullivan was nephew of Madgett, a native of Cork and ex-Roman Catholic priest who was at the French Foreign Office. Although Sullivan was taken prisoner he was not recognised.

[3] Savary's log throws a curious sidelight upon the position held by the Republican Calendar in contemporary minds. The log, of course, is officially dated *Messidor*, *Fructidor*, etc., but Savary drops into "the weather of the month of *August*," etc., as naturally as Silas Wegg dropped into poetry. Apparently the new chronology never penetrated very deep in the affections of the French people.—See *Desbrière*, Vol. II., Part I., pp. 84–85.

On the 20th August land was sighted, and the captain put in at Killala Bay. As events proved, this disobedience to orders was propitious. The British flag having been hoisted, a pilot from a passing brig was secured without much difficulty, and a row-boat containing the port surveyor, two sons of the Bishop of Killala, and a captain of the Prince of Wales's Fencible Infantry provided a preliminary batch of prisoners. On the 22nd the French troops were on Irish soil, and thus began one of the most remarkable military adventures of modern times. To-day the name of Humbert is apotheosised in song and story, and he certainly did wonders with the miniature army at his command, but the embers of the rebellion were scarcely smouldering and refused to be fanned into a flame. A picturesque glimpse of their doings is afforded in Dr. Stock's *Narrative*,[1] but the following, from the pen of another eye-witness,

[1] *A Narrative of what passed at Killalla, in the County of Mayo, and the Parts Adjacent, during the French Invasion in the Summer of* 1798. By an Eye Witness [Dr. Stock, Bishop of Killala]; Dublin, 1800. "This pamphlet," says Lord Holland, "was little noticed at the time, and some pains were taken to deprive it of the celebrity to which it was entitled. Many were offended that republican Frenchmen should be described, and that by a bishop too, as they really were, and not as it had suited the purposes of ministerialists to represent them,—monsters of impiety, treachery, and inhumanity. Dr. Stock was never promoted, and this publication was, it is said, urged as an objection—when Mr. Fox, however, in 1806, considered it as an additional recommendation to his acknowledged learning for translating him to a better bishoprick, other reasons were found to counteract his liberal intentions" (see *Memoirs of the Whig Party during my Time*. By Henry Richard Lord Holland. Vol. I., pp. 136–137). The reference to promotion is not quite clear, as Dr. Joseph Stock (1740–1813) became Bishop of Waterford and Lismore in 1810. He held the see of Killala from 1798 to 1810.

is a more graphic account of the events of this memorable day :

" A serene and cloudless sky, and brilliant sun, rendered the 22nd of August one of the finest days of that remarkable season.

" It was on the morning of that day, whilst proceeding from Palmerstown to Killala, I first beheld a ship of war ; three vessels of unusual size, magnified by the still calm of the ocean, stretched slowly across the bay of Rathfran (on the larboard tack), weathering the reef which divides it from the bay of Killala : a smaller vessel appeared in the offing.

" About twelve o'clock the frigates were visible from the Steeple Hill and the higher parts of the town ; they showed English colours.

" The collector and some other persons proceeded on board ; between two and three o'clock, p.m. the frigates were standing across towards the bay of Rathfran ; marks of agitation and restlessness became now apparent amongst several of the inhabitants. I met O'Kearney, the classical teacher, as he was returning from the ' Acres,' a remote and elevated quarter of the town ; a half-suppressed smile of satisfaction played on his countenance as he saluted me ; it was the last time we ever spoke. At four o'clock the agitation and alarm increased ; the revenue officers had not returned. The inhabitants were fronted on the Steeple Hill, Captain William Kirkwood of the yeomanry, now joined in uniform, as well as several of his corps, who began to make their appearance. Two officers of the carabineers arrived

from Ballina; they had been at the Cape of Good Hope, and were judges of all those sort of things; we awaited their opinion with anxiety—they could form none. 'Here,' said Captain Kirkwood, handing his telescope to an old seaman belonging to the town, who had served under Howe and Rodney, 'here, tell me what these vessels are.' 'They are French, sir,' replied the veteran, 'I know them by the cut and colour of their sails.'

"Quitting the crowd, Captain Kirkwood was accosted by Neal Kerugan (afterwards an active chief of insurgents), inquiring, what nation the frigates belonged to. 'Ah, Neal,' replied the Captain, 'you know as well as I do.' Returning now to Palmerstown, I had scarcely arrived, when a neighbouring peasant on horseback, breathless, and with the perspiration of terror streaming down his forehead, announced that a body of strangers in dark uniforms had landed from the ships—were distributing arms—had been joined by several of the inhabitants, and were actually advancing.—'There they come,' said he, pointing to an eminence a mile and a half distant, over which the road passed, and we beheld a dark and solid mass, moving onwards; their arms glittered in the rays of the declining sun. They were occasionally visible as they passed over the inequalities of the ground, till emerging from a banky part of the road, within a quarter of a mile of Palmerstown, we beheld their column of about eight hundred men, silently, but rapidly, advancing. They were preceded at some distance by a single horseman, a robust middle-aged

man, dressed in a long green hunting frock, and high conical fur cap; stopping for a moment, he saluted us in the Leinster patois of Irish, with '*Go de mu ha tu*' (how do ye do?).—A general officer (Sarrazin)[1] and aide-de-camp (Mr. Tone) were now close up; a laugh of approbation was interchanged between the chasseur and his general.

"The commander-in-chief (Humbert) seated in a gig now advanced at the head of this celebrated band of warriors, which regularly, but with precision, pressed rapidly forwards; calm and unconcerned, they presented no indication of men going into combat. Having crossed the bridge of Palmerstown, about three hundred men were countermarched and bivouacked on the green esplanade in front of the village; the remainder marched on to Killala.

"The sun had set behind the western wave and the grey twilight of evening was fast advancing, as the French, descending the hill of Mullagharn, beheld the yeomanry and a party of the Leicestershire fencibles forming on a commanding ridge, at the entrance of the town; Captain Kirkwood had been just apprised of the hostile landing, by a fisherman, who had crossed at Rathfran, whilst the French detoured by Palmerstown, and had ordered his men to this post; from which, however, they retired into the town, on the nearer approach of the French. Three streets diverge from the centre of Killala, in the form of a sportsman's turnscrew: one southerly towards the 'Acres'; a second westerly, by which

[1] Adjutant-General.

the French were advancing ; the third or main street, easterly, winding by the church-yard wall, on a steep declivity to the castle ; and onwards towards Ballina.

" It was on the edge of this declivity the military reformed ; Moreau could not have chosen a more judicious position for a retreat. Humbert on reaching the outskirts of the town, made his dispositions : he detached a party under Neal Kerugan (who had first joined him), across the Meadows, to enter by the Acres road, in order to cut off the retreat of the military by that rout, or turn them if in position ; he advanced a few sections, en tirailleur, to occupy the ridge from which the military had retired. The chasseur galloped into the town to reconnoitre ; he was scarcely out of sight in the winding street, when a single shot was heard, followed at a short interval by a random scattery volley :—it was a moment of anxious suspense, but the chasseur bore a charmed life. On approaching the market-place, he was challenged by a yeoman, (a young gentleman of the place), who had loitered behind his companions, with ' What do ye want, you spy ? ' the answer was a bullet through the body, and he fell dead into the door of a house at which he was standing. The veteran then reconnoitred the line of the military, and receiving their fire, returned to his comrades : he related these events with the *sangfroid* of an amateur; he had been in twenty battles, and had never had the honour of receiving the entire fire of the enemy's line before. The tirailleurs were warmly engaged ; the column redoubled its speed, and at the centre of the

town, a party of grenadiers which marched at its head, deployed on the main street; they were received by an ill-directed volley from the military, at about one hundred yards distance; their captain was struck with a ball on the foot; foaming with rage, he ordered his grenadiers to charge. It was refused by the military; the yeomanry first broke ground and were soon followed by the fencibles. Protected by the declivity and the church-yard wall, from the French fire, the yeomanry escaped through the castle gates; the fencibles fled onwards towards Ballina; Captain Kirkwood turned down, by his own house, to the strand, expecting to reach Ballina, unperceived, by that route. One yeoman alone remained, Mr. Smith, the respectable apothecary of the town; aged and afflicted with gout, he was unable to keep pace with his companions; excluded, on shutting the castle gates, he struggled to reach his own house, it was not distant one hundred yards, but his days were numbered; the chasseur was at his heels: eager to make Captain Kirkwood, (whom he first observed) his prisoner, he disdained the same favour to a soldier belonging to the ranks—he fired, and the unfortunate man fell a lifeless corpse." [1]

As the yeomen and fencibles totalled fifty men, according to Dr. Stock, whose evidence is accepted by Lecky, the first "victory" of the French was not particularly far-reaching in its consequences.

[1] *Popular Songs, illustrative of the French Invasions of Ireland.* Edited, with Introductions and Notes, by T. Crofton Croker (London: The Percy Society, 1845), Part IV., pp. 73–78. Reprinted from the *Dublin Penny Journal.*

Humbert and his colleague Adjutant-General Fontaine assert that 200 men opposed them; Sarrazin gives half that number.[1] Captain Kirkwood and Lieutenant Sills of the fencibles were made prisoners, the latter being sent on board one of the frigates the following day and taken to France. The prelate and his guests, including the dean, as well as nineteen yeomen, were kept in custody at the castle, but received kindly, if not polite, treatment at the hands of Humbert. Dr. Stock gives us a sympathetic pen-portrait of the French commander. "Of a good height and shape," he says, "in the full vigour of life, prompt to decide, quick in execution, apparently master of his art, you could not refuse him the praise of a good officer, while his phisiognomy forbad you to like him as a man. His eye, which was small and sleepy (the effect, probably, of much watching) cast a side-long glance of insidiousness, and even of cruelty; it was the eye of a cat preparing to spring on her prey. His education and manners were indicative of a person sprung from the lowest orders of society, though he knew how (as most of his countrymen can do) to assume, where it was convenient, the deportment of a gentleman. For learning, he scarcely had enough to enable him to write his name.[2] His passions were furious, and all his behaviour seemed marked with the characters of roughness and violence. A narrower observation of him, however, served to

[1] Desbrière, Vol. II., Part I., p. 87.

[2] The facsimile signature reproduced on p. 103 of Crofton Croker's *Popular Songs* (Part IV.), would seem to disprove this statement.

discover that much of this roughness was the result of art, being assumed with the view of extorting by terror a ready compliance with his commands." [1]

When Cornwallis heard the alarming intelligence, which travelled rapidly as ill news is wont to do, and was received in the capital on the day Humbert landed, he at once began to plan his arrangements for the disposition of troops.[2] Exact information as to the number of men who had disembarked was not forthcoming, it seldom is in the early stages of a campaign, but the general belief that the allies were fairly well received was disquieting. For this reason Brigadier-General Taylor,[3] in command at Sligo, was told to reconnoitre without coming to actual fighting with the enemy, and Lake was ordered to Galway to concentrate a force sufficiently large to enable him to make a decisive stroke. General Nugent [4] was " to act on the side of Sligo." Moore was directed to make his way to Athlone, the head-quarters of the army now being assembled by Cornwallis in person, which was reached on the 27th August.

[1] Dr. Stock's *Narrative*, pp. 34–35.

[2] *Cornwallis Correspondence*, Vol. I., p. 390. According to Lake's biographer the intelligence was not received at Dublin until the 24th August.—See *Memoirs of the Life and Military Services of Viscount Lake, Baron Lake of Delhi and Laswaree*, 1744–1808. By Colonel Hugh Pearse, p. 116.

[3] Afterwards General the Hon. Robert Taylor. Born the 26th November, 1760, died the 23rd May, 1839. M.P. for Kells from 1791 to the Union.

[4] Sir George Nugent (1757–1849). Served in Holland 1793; he commanded in the South of Ireland and afterwards at Belfast 1798; Adjutant-General in Ireland 1799–1801; Lieutenant-General of Jamaica 1801–1806; created a baronet 1806; Commander-in-Chief in India 1811–1813; general 1813; G.C.B. 1815.

Major-Generals Hutchinson[1] and Trench were to march on Mayo.

So far so good, but Hutchinson imprudently led his force to Castlebar before the arrival of Lake, whose obvious course was to go to the assistance of his colleague, their total strength being about 1,700 men.[2] On the 27th they were routed by Humbert, who, under the guidance of an Irish priest, had travelled along a track but little used. Many of the Longford and Kilkenny Militia took scarcely any part in the action and deserted to the other side on the first opportunity that offered, while the Galway yeomanry took to their heels, hence "the races of Castlebar." Dr. Stock mentions that after the fight fifty-three men of the Longford Militia marched into Killala and exchanged their uniforms for "the blue coats of France!"[3] Two days afterwards the defeated generals joined Cornwallis, Lake sending a dispatch in advance complaining that it was "impossible to manage the militia; their whole conduct has been this day of action most shameful. . . ."[4] The French remained in the captured town until early in the morning of the 4th September. Finding it necessary to muster all his available forces, Humbert was compelled to send for the 200 French soldiers who had

[1] Hon. John Hely Hutchinson (1757–1832). Second in command to Sir Ralph Abercromby in Egyptian Expedition; created Baron Hutchinson 1801; second Earl of Donoughmore 1825.

[2] *History of the British Army.* By the Hon. J. W. Fortescue, Vol. IV., p. 592.

[3] *Narrative*, pp. 46–47.

[4] Tuam, 28th August, 1798, 5 o'clock a.m.—*Cornwallis Correspondence*, Vol. II., p. 393.

formed the garrison of Killala, two officers named Charost[1] and Ponson being left to guard the town with about 200 Irish recruits. "All the horrors, that had been acted at Wexford, now stared the loyalists in the face," notes the worthy bishop.[2] Fortunately Charost was able to keep some resemblance to order and subordination. On the 5th Humbert was attacked by Colonel Vereker[3] and a force of the Limerick City Militia, whom he discomfited, capturing two guns and making some sixty prisoners. It was not until the 8th that the French commander and his tattered army, or what remained of it, were finally run to earth at Ballinamuck, while endeavouring to force their way to Granard, by Lake's advanced guard.

Moore says that Humbert's forces never totalled more than 5,000, but adds that Cornwallis's troops "were bad and undisciplined, and if he had met with the least check the country was gone."[4] Throughout this short and eventful campaign all manner of rumours were current as to the reception of the French and the help they were afforded by the disaffected peasantry. After Castlebar Lake was considerably perturbed, as well he might be, owing to the lack of definite information on the matter. "I have reason to appre-

[1] Lieutenant-Colonel Charost. According to Bishop Stock Charost was born in Paris, but had spent much of his early life in St. Domingo.

[2] *Narrative*, p. 49.

[3] Charles Vereker (1768–1812), M.P. for Limerick City 1795–1800 and 1802–1817; second Viscount Gort 1817.

[4] Moore's *Diary*, Vol. I., p. 324.

hend the people of the country are flocking in to the French very fast," he writes,[1] but four days later Cornwallis tells the Duke of Portland on the authority of a captain who had been taken prisoner by the enemy that his intelligence "affords every ground for persuasion that the number of the French soldiers has been grossly exaggerated, that they have as yet been joined by a very inconsiderable portion of the inhabitants, and those (with very few exceptions) of the lowest order. No material disaffection has shown itself in other parts of the kingdom."[2] He afterwards came to the conclusion that the number of rebels who joined Humbert did not exceed 4,000.[3]

The prelate already cited, an unwilling and enforced spectator of so much that was bad in the Irish character, holds no brief for either the rebels or the loyalist army. According to him, those in possession of Killala until its relief helped themselves fairly liberally to other folks' possessions, destroyed much, and behaved in an altogether unsatisfactory way. When the troops were advancing from Sligo, "A train of fire too clearly distinguished their line of march, flaming up from the houses of unfortunate peasants."[4] Dr. Stock also draws attention to "the predatory habits of the soldiery. The regiments that came to their assistance being all militia, seemed to think they had a right to take the property they had been the

[1] 28th August.—*Cornwallis Correspondence*, Vol. II., p. 393.
[2] Knock Hill, 1st September, 1798.—*Ibid.*, p. 399.
[3] Ballyhaunis, 5th September, 1798.—*Ibid.*, p. 400.
[4] Dr. Stock's *Narrative*, p. 135.

means of preserving, and to use it as their own, whenever they stood in need of it. Their rapacity differed in no respect from that of the rebels, except that they seized upon things with somewhat less of ceremony or excuse, and that his Majesty's soldiers were incomparably superior to the Irish traitors in dexterity at stealing." [1]

In speaking of the priests and the part they played in the aftermath of the Wexford rebellion Bishop Stock makes a suggestion which is worthy of consideration. "The almost total dependence," he writes, "of the Romish clergy of Ireland upon their people for the means of subsistence is the cause, according to my best judgment, why upon every popular commotion many priests of that communion have been, and until measures of better policy are adopted, always will be found in the ranks of sedition and opposition to the established government. The peasant will love a revolution, because he feels the weight of poverty, and has not often the sense to perceive that a change of masters may render it heavier: the priest must follow the impulse of the popular wave, or be left behind on the beach, to perish." [2]

Had Hardy's division set off simultaneously with that of Humbert the historian would probably have a different story to tell, if not a different moral to interpret. The embarkation of troops did not begin until the 5th August, and there was the same trouble

[1] Dr. Stock's *Narrative*, p. 163.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 98–99.

over financial matters which had delayed the first expedition. Fifteen days later Bompard set off with the *Hoche* (74), and the frigates *Immortalité* (40), *Romaine* (40), *Loire* (40), *Coquille* (36), *Embuscade* (36), *Sémillante* (36), *Résolu* (36), *Bellone* (36), *Biche* (36), and *Fraternité*, notwithstanding the British blockading squadron, but two of his ships collided and Admiral Bruix sent an urgent dispatch that the fleet was not to sail until the enemy was forced to bear away owing to stress of weather. The news brought by Savary of the safe arrival of Humbert aroused the authorities to something approaching enthusiasm, and the idea of sending the former with further troops and supplies was discussed and put in channel for further development. At last there seemed a glimmer of hope for Ireland, but it was only the flicker of a guttering candle.

There is more than a suggestion of romance about the strangest of all strange relief expeditions which left Dunkirk on the 4th September under Napper Tandy in the brig *Anacréon*. What practical service a handful of Irish refugees was likely to render to the land of their birth at such a time is open to question. Perhaps it was to give "moral support" to their countrymen, although this notion seems scarcely tenable, as Napper Tandy appears to have been a man "who'd rather drink than pray," for tradition has it that when he landed in Ireland the first thing he did was to get intoxicated. They duly reached Arran Bay, and after spending a few hours on the island of Arran, decided that discretion was the

better part of valour. Accordingly they sailed for the Shetlands, fought a brig of the British navy which came up with them, and eventually succeeded in boarding her. Further good fortune attended the piratical crew by the capture of two merchant ships, the *Langton* of Lancaster, and the *Tom* from Petersburg, the latter of which they successfully convoyed to Bergen in Norway. The *Langton* was abandoned owing to the inauspicious appearance of an armed vessel, which subsequently took possession of her.[1]

The pygmy had been successful where the giant had so far failed. With a walletful of instructions and precautions very similar to those given to Savary and 6,000 muskets and bayonets, 1,000,000 cartridges, 6,000 pouches, 1,200 swords, 2,000 French uniforms, and equipment for 150 dragoons stowed away in the holds of their ships, Hardy and Bompard still walked the quarter-deck of the *Hoche* waiting for the wind which was to play the British false. On the 16th September the opportunity came, but two frigates and a brig of the Brest blockading squadron followed them until the 3rd of October and then managed to join the fleet cruising off the North of Ireland under Commodore Sir John Borlase Warren.[2] Hardy and Bompard doubtless congratulated themselves on shaking off " the ravening wolves of the sea,"

[1] See deposition of Thomas Roper, master and owner of the *Langton*.—*Castlereagh Correspondence*, Vol. I., pp. 400–403.

[2] Sir John Borlase Warren (1754–1822). M.P. for Great Marlow in two Parliaments and Nottingham in two later Administrations. Ambassador-extraordinary to St. Petersburg, 1802 ; commander on coast of America, 1812.

to use Napoleon's expression. Not for long did this elation last. Off Tory Island they found the two frigates, plus nine other sail including three ships-of-the-line, showing unmistakable signs of fight. Both the contestants proved worthy of their differing causes, but the *Romaine*, *Sémillante*, and *Biche* alone returned to France, the remaining vessels being either captured or sunk. Wolfe Tone fought with the ardour of a demon on board the *Hoche*. This was not the nursery warfare of Bantry Bay, it was a matter of blood and iron such as his soul loved. The story told in Tone's *Memoirs* as to his betrayal by Sir George Hill is dismissed by Crofton Croker as apocryphal, or at any rate altogether devoid of the treachery imputed. This authority states that in a letter dated ten days before the arrival of the French flag-ship in Lough Swilly Lord Castlereagh says : " I congratulate England no less on the capture of the *Hoche*, than I do Ireland on the value of her cargo. The arch-traitor Tone is himself a very capital prize." [1] Determined to avoid execution, the man who had sacrificed his all on behalf of the United Irish movement cheated the gallows by committing suicide in prison.

On the very day the French flags were being hauled down off Tory Island Savary set off with 1,090 troops under Adjutant-General Cortez in half a dozen vessels to reinforce Hardy and Bompard. Four of the ships anchored in the desired haven of Killala Bay, two frigates parting company before Irish waters were reached. Savary's orders were that he should return

[1] *Popular Songs* etc., pp. 111–112.

at once if bad news were forthcoming. After having captured a boat-load of British officers and men who had not learnt the lesson of the fate which awaited a similar company on the occasion of Humbert's arrival, he again set sail for France. His vessels narrowly escaped capture the following day, and a running fight with two British ships which lasted for seventy-two exciting hours ensued. On the 24th October two Dutch frigates with some 300 soldiers left the Texel for Galway Bay, and were captured by the British frigate *Sirius*.

With such a record of disaster the Directory decided that the case of their Irish allies was hopeless, and wisely decided to allow them to doctor their own wounds. Not that adventurous spirits were wanting in coming forward to champion any movement in that direction. Several offers were made and wisely rejected, for a lost cause is best relegated to the limbo of dead things.

The remaining entries in the Detail Book for the month of August are unimportant, but on the 27th inst. a detachment of the Cavan Militia, consisting of 100 men under the command of Captain James Adams, joined the Camolin Cavalry. The letter from the Earl of Mount Norris which is subjoined shows that he had nearly as much difficulty in obtaining money for his corps as had Humbert and Hardy.

" Aug. 28th, 1798.

" Dear Sir,

" It is impossible for me to say how long the Corps of Yeomanry will continue embodyed, nor can

I apply to the Lord Lieutenant, now out of Town, to have them removed to Camolin. The remaining on permanent Pay, must depend on the State of the Civil War! But every friend to his country will of course wish the Rebellion to be terminated as speedily as possible, and the Forces to be reduced, however he may lament the Inconveniencies that Individuals may suffer. I am glad to hear that the Corps are attentive to their Duty. I shall speak tomorrow to Gen[l] Lake about our quitting Ferns for Camolin. I am fagging to get our Arrears of pay, which are considerable beyond Expression. I am, with good Wishes to all friends,

" Dear Sir,

" Your's faithfully,

" M[t] Norris."

[Address: " Dublin August Twenty Eight 1798. L[t] Smyth, Camolin Cavalry, Camp, Ferns.—Mount Norris."]

" August 31.—No duty except the usual Parades. At 11 o'clock, an express arrived from Brigade Major FitzGerald, Wexford, to the Officers commanding the Yeomanry Corps at Gorey, which was immediately forwarded by one file. By the same express the following Orders were Received:

" ' Brigade Orders. Wexford, August 31, 1798.

" ' That the Yeomanry Corps stationed at Ferns will parade at 8 o'clk tomorrow morning in the full strength of their respective Establishments—The Senior Officer in order of precedence will appoint the place of Parade and form it, inspect the Corps, collect the Reports, and see them to be proper and correct,

according to a form laid down in the standing Orders for Yeomanry Corps. The Senior Officer is requested to be particular in examining the Reports. No Horses are to be reported that come under the description of *Croppy* Horses. In inspecting the Cavalry every Mounted Man is to appear fully accoutred, otherwise he cannot be permitted to parade with the Corps. The Senior Officers will be particular in case any of the Officers should be absent, to see they are properly accounted for in the Reports.—For the information of the Corps, forms of the Morning and Evening Reports are enclosed as precedents—These orders to be copied by each Corps of Yeomanry at Ferns.

"'B. E. FitzGerald, *Brigade Major.*'"

CHAPTER XII

TROUBLES OF THE CAMOLIN CAVALRY

My dear Orange brothers, have you heard of the news,
How the treacherous Frenchmen our gulls to amuse,
The troops that last April they promised to send,
At length at Killala they ventured to land.
Good Croppies, but don't be too bold now,
Lest you should be all stow'd in the hold now,
Then to Bot'ny you'd trudge, I am told now,
And a sweet orange lily for me.

CONSTITUTIONAL SONG.

"SEPTEMBER 1.—In consequence of the Brigade Orders received last night, the Troop paraded at 8 o'clock this morning fully accoutred, and remained mounted 'till 11 o'clock, waiting for the arrival of the Brigade Major, who did not come, but sent Orders that he would be at Ferns at 2 o'clock, and also directions to send of[f] a file of Men to Enniscorthy to inform the Commanding Officer of Yeomanry that he would be there at 4 o'clock. About two he arrived, and tho' the Troop was in readiness, he did not inspect them, but requested of them to be regular as to their Duty, &c., &c.

"September 2.—One file with dispatches from Major Gen. Johnson at Waterford, to the Officers Commanding the Yeomanry Corps stationed at Ferns.

By the express, which brought the above, the following Orders from Gen. Johnson to the Yeomanry stationed at Ferns, was received, and ordered to be entered in the Orderly Book :

" ' Head Quarters—G. O.—Waterford, August 31, 1798.

" ' It being judged necessary that the Yeomanry Corps throughout the District should without loss of time be put upon permanent Duty, I am directed by Major Gen. Johnson to desire you will take immediate steps for assembling the Corps under your Command at such place (making it your Head Quarters) as you shall deem most expedient for the protection and keeping the peace of the District, forming such Guards and Patroles as you may judge necessary. You will send a state of your Corps, as soon as possible to Major Gen. Johnson at Waterford, continuing to do so every fortnight untill further Orders.

" ' John Rogers, *Acting Brigade Major.*'

" Sept. 3. — One file with dispatches from B.M. FitzGerald, Wexford, to the Officers commanding the Ballakeen, Castletown, Coolgreney, Gorey and Wingfield Troops of Yeoman Cavalry. By the same express the following Orders was received :

" ' Brigade Orders. Wexford, Septem^r 2, 1798.

" ' Brigade Major FitzGerald begs leave to observe to the Commanding Officers of the Yeomanry Corps, that no returns are to go in at present but the Certificate (No. 1) on which an advance of pay will be issued.

" ' Major FitzGerald received a letter, dated the 30

Ultimo, from the War-office ; He begs the Certificate (No. 1) of Permanent Duty may be sent to him as expeditiously as possible, in order that He may transmit them to Dublin.' "

Four days later Lord Mount Norris's Corps were still in difficulties as regards finances.

" Septr 6, 1798.

" Dear Sir,

" Whatever orders you have received from Genl Hunter, should have been sent to me ! The Corps need not stir from Ferns 'till my Return ! I am all impatience for the account from Mr Mahor, which Mr Blake promised to forward to me on his arrival in the Country. He left Town on the 29th of last month ! He is also to get for me the Commissary's Account, as the Charges for Forage and Rations are charged to the Troop and are to be deducted from the Pay ! Urge Jemmy Blake to Dispatch, for, with the best Intentions, he is rather indolent. Be assured that the Corps cannot be more desirous to see their account than I am to Pay it before them. When they see it, they will, I am certain, be ashamed of having been led into a very erroneous Idea of the State of things. We are very anxious to hear from Ld Cornwallis, to whom Col^l Crawford[1] has shown the way to Victory, by the Defeat and Slaughter of some hundreds of Rebels, five of whose Captains were taken.

" Your's faithfully,

" Mt Norris.

[1] Lieutenant-Colonel Crawford (1764–1812). Served in India under Cornwallis ; mortally wounded at Ciudad Rodrigo ; died the 29th January, 1812.

"The Yeomen have beaten the Rebels at Granard, tho' the latter were six to one against them—Ld Cornwallis is in pursuit of the French, who have evacuated Castle Bar and gone to Foxford. This Day they were to be attacked.

"Why don't you order Mr Blake to quarters, as he has not my leave of Absence. If he or any other Person should disobey, report him or them."

"September 7.—An express arrived this day from Newtown Barry, mentioning that Gen. Lake was attacked on the morning of the 27 Ult^o^ by the French at a village near Castlebar,[1] and after a smart conflict the General was compelled to retreat, leaving 6 field pieces and some ammunition, which fell into the hands of the Enemy. Night patrole as usual and Report. Everything perfectly quiet.

"September 10.—

"'Brigade Orders. Wexford, September 7, 1798.

"'I beg leave to request that you will be particular in sending me your Morning and Evening Reports of the Week on the last day of every week, and that you will keep your Men close in Quarters in order that they may be ready to parade at half an hour's notice; and you will be particularly observant in the compliance of the Standing Orders, Instructions, and Arangements directed for the Yeomanry service; it is necessary you should attend to the exercise and manœuvring pointed out by command of Field Marshal, His Royal Highness, the Duke of York. His Royal Highness is

[1] See *ante*, p. 256.

pleased to direct that every officer of Cavalry shall be provided with a copy of these Regulations.

" ' B. Edw[d] FitzGerald, *Brigade Major.*

" ' N.B.—You will please to observe to practice firing with Blank Cartridges.'

" An officer and 5 file, accompanied by Captain Adams, went from hence on an information lodged against a man named John Murphy, charged upon oath with having murdered two Loyalists at Vinegar Hill subsequent to the breaking out of the present Rebellion; made close search, but could not find the person so sworn against. The file which was dispatched with an express to Newtown Barry this morning returned with an express from Col. Maxwell to Cap. Adams giving the pleasing intelligence that Lieut.-Gen. Lake and the forces under his Command had come up with the French in the County of Longford, and defeated them—no particulars mentioned.

" September 13.—One file with Circular dispatches from the Brigade Major, to the Officers Commanding the Castletown, Coolgreny, Ballakeen, Gorey and Wingfield Cavalry. By the same express the following Orders were received, and addressed to the Officer Commanding the Yeoman Cavalry stationed at Ferns.

(Circular)

" ' Brigade Orders. Wexford, September 11, 1798.

" ' I have to request that you will please to have a Similar Certificate of No. 1 filled up and transmitted to me on the 16 Instant, stating the Numbers to be on Permanent Duty for the ensuing Month, so that the

Certificate may arrive at the War-Office, on or about the 20, and the Pay be actually in the Agents hands on the first of the Month according to the late Arangements for Yeomanry Corps on Permanent Duty.

" ' You are requested to send in immediately your Monthly returns of Ammunition according to the Form in the Standing Orders, accounting for the Expenditure, &c., &c.

" ' The Brigade Major requests the different Returns will be sent in in future regularly, or you may abide the Consequence.

" ' B. E. FitzGerald, *Major of Brigade.*'

" September 14.—One file as an escort from hence to Gorey, with Lieut. Smith and Mr James Blake, Secretary to the Cavalry, to settle the Regimental Accounts of the Corps with the then Commissary, the former one, Mr Ashe, not to be heard of; applied to said Commissary for a Settlement, who said, he had not a power to settle any accounts of his predecessor Mr Ashe, but furnished duplicates of the receipts passed for Lieut. Smith for Oats, Bread, and Beef, during said Ashe's time.

" September 17.—Between 12 and 1 o'clock in the morning the Camp was much alarmed by the firing of Guns from different parts of the Country, near to the Camp. Several shots were fired at the Sentry, supposed to be from Miltown, but cannot tell by whom said shots were fired. The whole of the Militia and Yeomanry remained armed 'till 7 o'clock.

" September 18.—A Serjeant and 6 file went to the house of Dennis Murphy of Raheenagee, hearing that

he, the said Murphy, had entertained a Banditti of People, supposed to be the party who had committed the robberies on the houses of John Wright of Ballinclay, and George and James Graham of Ballydainell on the night of Sunday the 16 Instant. After making close search, which was done without effect, the party returned back again to Quarters. This day the following Orders was received, and addressed to the Officers Commanding the Yeomanry Corps stationed at Ferns:

"'Circular. Bri. Orders. Wexford, Septem^r 17, 1798.

"'I beg leave to enclose you Copies of Letters respecting the Permanent Duty of Yeomanry Corps in this Country. You will see it clearly explained by the Letter No. 1. The Letter No. 2 I send which will explain any part of the former Letter, which you may not understand. It being Circular you will be particularly carefull that all the Corps in your station will be officially made acquainted with this Order.

"'B. Edw. FitzGerald, M. of B.'

(Circular Letter, No. 1.)

"'Sir, "'Dublin Castle, 14 Septem^r 1798.

"'The Lord Lieutenant being anxious to avail himself of the earliest opportunity of relieving the Yeomanry from that Duty which they have undertaken with so much Zeal and Alacrity, I am commanded to signify to you that it is His Excellency's pleasure that the Yeomanry Corps should by Saturday the 22 Instant, be placed precisely on the same footing with respect to Permanent Duty as they were on previous to my Letter of the 29 August. The above

arrangement will be communicated by this Post to the Generals, but as the circumstances of the Service may have called several of them from their Districts, it is his Excellency's desire, that to prevent delay, his directions on this Subject may be carried into effect by the Brigade Majors of Yeomanry without further Instructions, and you will therefore take immediate measures for this purpose in the District to which you are attached. "'I have the Honor to be, &c. &c.

"'CASTLEREAGH.

"'To Major of Brigade FitzGerald, Wexford.'"

(Circular Letter, No. 2.)

"Letter of the 29th August, alluded to by Lord Castlereagh:

"'Sir, "'Dublin Castle, 29 August, 1798.

"'It being judged expedient under the present circumstances of the Country that the Yeomanry Corps throughout the Kingdom should without loss of time be put on Permanent Duty, I have the Lord Lieutenant's commands to desire that you will take immediate Measures for assembling the Corps in the District in which you are stationed, at such places, as the General to whom you are attached shall direct.

"'I have the Honor to be, &c. &c. &c.

"'CASTLEREAGH.

"'To Major of Brigade FitzGerald, Wexford.'"

The next letter from Lord Mount Norris is bittersweet. He has a grievance to air and the news of additional military forces to relate:

[September 18, 1798]

"Pray give the enclosed to Johnny Roe! Captain Adams, being a superior Officer to you, has a Right to direct you to make daily returns to him, as I did to General Needham at Gorey. Therefore you cannot refuse, with[t] a Risque of being brought to a Court Martial, a Complyance with his orders, for you are certainly under his command. But this Power, which I am surprised he chooses to exercise, is not always enforced. It does not proceed from Captain A. himself, but originates *out of kindness*, elsewhere. This will, however, cease when I come to the Country, which I mean to do as soon as the Month's Returns to the first of August shall have been paid. Captain Adams, as far as I have been able to judge of him, is too much of a Gentleman to render Quarters unpleasant to a brother Soldier. Remember me to all the Corps, and believe me, Dear Sir,

"Your's faithfully,

"M[t] Norris.

"A number of fine Regiments arrived, amounting to near 20,000 men. The Coast is now well guarded against Invasion.

"The Reason for the daily returns, is to prevent a Continuance of those abuses, committed by Yeomen Captains, who have charged for many non effective men.

[Address: "Dublin, September Eighteen, 1798. Lieut[t] Smyth, Camolin Cavalry, Ferns. — Mount Norris."]

" September 19.—An Officer and 12 file went towards Corrigrua Hill to reconnoitre, and scour that part of the Country, having heard that there were Rebels lurking in and about said Hill, but could not discover any of them.

" September 22.—

" ' Brigade Order. Wexford, September 21, 1798.

" ' You have been furnished with a Copy of a Letter from Lord Castlereagh signifying to you his Excellency's pleasure that you would, after the 22 Instant, place yourselves on the same footing relative to Permanent Duty that you were on before the 29 of August last, it being understood by his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant that you were before that date put off from Permanent Duty, according to a General Order.

" ' It is therefore necessary to inform you that after the 22 Inst. you will place yourselves on the same footing you were before the first of May last, observing the Weekly Exercise.

" ' B. Edw. FitzGerald, *M. of Brigade.*'

" Night Patrole as usual and Report. All Quiet and Well.

" September 23.—This morning the troop paraded at 10 o'clock and were immediately after marched for Ballycanew, in order to partake of an entertainment given them there by their two Lieutenants. In the Evening the Corps was disembodied, agreeable to the Order received yesterday from the Brigade Major. The Loyal Mount Norris Rangers were marched from

Gorey to Camolin, where they were disembodied also, agreeable to the same Order.[1]

" October 5.—This day a file of Yeoman Cavalry from Enniscorthy brought the following Letter from B. M. FitzGerald, Wexford, and Orders from Major Gen. Johnson, Waterford.

" ' Wexford, October 5, 1798.

" ' Sir,

" ' I have just received an Order from Major Gen. Johnson, Waterford, desiring I would immediately put the Yeomanry of my District upon Permanent Duty, a copy of which Order, I take the liberty of inclosing to you, requesting you will communicate it as soon as possible to the Officers of Camolin Cavalry and Infantry, the former of which must be stationed at Ferns, the latter at Camolin. Be so good as to excuse this trouble, which the hurry of business urges me to.

' ' I have the Honor to be, &c. &c. &c.

" ' B. Edwd FitzGerald, *B.M. Yeom^y.*

" ' To the Officer Commanding Cavan Militia, Ferns."

Inclosed Order from Major Gen. Johnson, Waterford.

" ' Head Quarters—G.O.—Waterford, Octo^r 4, 1798.

" ' From the present disturbed state of the Country, I am directed by Major Gen. Johnstone to desire, that you will without loss of time, put the Yeomanry, Cavalry and Infantry in your District, upon Permanent Duty, and that you will send a state of the several Corps as soon as possible to our Head Quarters at

[1] The missing dates are not given in the Detail Book.

Waterford, continuing to do so every fortnight untill Ordered to the Contrary.

" ' JOHN ROGERS, *Acting B.M.*

" ' To Major of Brigade FitzGerald, Wexford.' "

" Captain Burrowes of the Cavan Militia, who had the Command in Ferns, on receiving these Instructions dispatched Messengers to the Cavalry Officers, and in return found they had gone to Dublin some days before on their private affairs, and their return uncertain. However, the Service suffered no inconvenience on that account, as all expresses, &c. which arrived, were forwarded with expedition by some of the Cavalry who remained in Ferns since they were disembodyed. Prior to the arrival of the Officers from Dublin, the Major of Brigade visited Ferns, and not finding the Corps assembled according to Orders, he left the following :

" ' Ferns, October 8, 1798.

" ' The Major of Brigade FitzGerald has visited Ferns this Morning and was astonished not to find the Corps of Camolin Cavalry and Infantry assembled according to an Order from Major Gen. Johnstone, which B. M. FitzGerald conveyed to Ferns by express, directed to the Officer commanding there. The Officer or Non-commissioned Officer of the Corps will send 12 effective Dragoons tomorrow morning at 6 o'clock, each well accoutred under the command of a non-commissioned Officer, and fully appointed with Carbines, &c. &c. to Wexford. As soon as the de-

tachment arrives near town, a Man will be dispatched to the Brigade Major's Quarters.'

"Agreeable to the above Order, a Serjeant and 6 file marched for Wexford, remained there the chief part of the Day, and returned to Ferns, without seeing the Brigade Major, or receiving any Orders from him.

"Two days after the Order arrived from Gen. Johnson, for putting the Corps on Permanent Duty, Sir Frederick Flood was favoured with the following letter, to the same purport:

"'Sir, "'Newtown Barry, October 7, 1798.

"'I authorize you to put the whole of Lord Mount Norris's Corps, Infantry and Cavalry, on Permanent Duty from tomorrow inclusive, twenty of the Cavalry to be stationed at Camolin, the remainder at Ferns.

"'I have the Honor to be, &c. &c.

"'Robt Taylor, *Brigadier General.*'

"Sir Frederick Flood in reply to Brigadier General Taylor's foregoing letter, stated his wishes to have at least an equal proportion of the Cavalry stationed at Camolin as Head Quarters, & received a second letter from the General, of which the following is a Copy:

"'Sir, "'Newtown Barry, October 9, [1798.]

"'In answer to your's of this day, with which I have just been honoured, I am to express that I have no objection to your making that arrangement of the Cavalry part of Lord Mount Norris's that *you desire.*

I only made the former division of it, on account of the accommodation, which I was given to understand was better at one place, than the other.

" ' I have the Honor to be, &c.

" ' Robt Taylor, *B.G.*

" ' Sir Fred. Flood, Bart. Camolin.' "

Lord Mount Norris has now a really serious complaint to make :

" Octr 11th 1798.

" Dear Sir,

" I am very sorry you did not call on me in your Way out of Town, as I had a packet for you. Mr Brigade Major FitzGerald has sent me a Return with his Observation ' that the number stated of Cavalry in the Return were not present.' That is, saying that you and I have certifyed a falsehood. You must therefore send me up an affidavit, signed by you, Jones, &c, that all the men, stated in the August Return were either present or on out Duty by order. Blake's not sending the Return or Account is shameful. I expect to hear from you by Return of post, and am

" Your's faithfully,

Mt Norris.

" You will probably get a Packet from me by post.

" The best thing you can do, is to go off express to Wexford, and to assure the Brigade Major (what I pledge my Honor is a fact) that I did not receive his Letter, with the Return, for my observations ; that I should have otherwise replyed. You can also pledge yourself that all the men, *you certifyed*, were

present on Duty, except Peter Crannel (sent by his Direction to Donoughmore) and a few others, who were on Duty or on furlow. Also that two were ill, and c^d not attend, Nesbit and Newbold. Don't Delay this Business a moment. Ask Captain Adams's leave.

[Address: "John Smyth Esqre, Ballyduff, Ferns."

"Octr 18th, 1798.

"Dear Sir,

"I am glad you are arrived *at last*, for your Absence *so long* was injurious to the Country, to the Corps, and to you, as an officer! But, as you have now joined I expect that you and John Jones will be attentive. The Service must not suffer, nor must the Government be trifled with. Mr Blake's not [wishing] to join is intolerable. Mr Nesbit's absenting himself, whether through Illness or not, is a Hardship [to] his Brother Troopers. Remember me to them and believe me faithfully Your's,

"Mt Norris."

[Address: "Dublin October Seven 1798. N^o seven. Lt Smith, Camolin Cavalry, Camolin, Gorey.—Mount Norris."]

"Octr 23rd, 1798

"I have no doubt of your Attention and Honor and those of my Corps. Mr Peter Taylor's Reason for wishing for leave to resign, is very extraordinary, if any thing can be counted odd in the present times. A letter from Mr FitzGerald, the Brigade Major at Wexford, contains the following extraordinary Paragraph: 'Your letter of the 11th I would have answered before now, but expected to comply with your

Request of making Enquiries into the certainty of the number of men being actually present for the Days stated in the Return, but my attendance in Station prevented my Intention. Give me leave to assure your L^p^ I took that Precaution before I made any Remark on the Return and did question Lt Smyth on the Subject, who acknowledged the number of men were not actually present. However, I will be happy to give Lieut. Smith an opportunity of arranging the mistake, if it is one.' This Paragraph carrys its own Command, for it charges you with having certifyed a false Return, which I, depending on your accuracy, confirmed by my signature, as Captain. *It is incumbent on you, as an Officer,* to rectify this *Business, as it regards your Honour,* as well as that of

" Your humble Svt,

" Mt Norris.

" 'Till you have rectifyed *the gross Error* which you have committed and which you have *most ungenerously* led me into, the Pay will be stopped ! I would not, for 1000£ have had it happened, for it makes you and me appear in a very awkward Point of View, to which I cannot submit, as I have been innocently led in by a man, in whom I confided. Make me an Exact Return of every man, who absents himself, for I will not be privy to cheating the publick and Government."

CHAPTER XIII

THE AFTERMATH OF THE REBELLION

The curse which has made that wretched island the world's by-word is not in Ireland itself, but in the inability of its conquerors to recognise that, if they take away a nation's liberty, they may not use it as the plaything of their own selfishness or their own factions.—FROUDE.

THE concluding letters in the Mount Norris Correspondence range from the 22nd November, 1798, to the 11th September, 1803. Although they are not numerous, the deficiency in quantity is largely atoned by the interesting quality of the communications. Depredations continued to be made by the few rebels who remained unrepentant, and it must be confessed that the Camolin Cavalry was not particularly successful in putting a stop to the lawless misdoings of the insurgents who infested the neighbourhood. There was also a "rift in the lute" as regards the conduct of the corps, which justly called forth a stern rebuke from the Earl. It is satisfactory to note, however, that almost the last document has a pleasing reference to "my brave Corps of Yeomen, who did themselves so much Credit and me so much Honour in the late cruel Rebellion."

"Novr 22d, 1798.

"I am shocked to hear that things are not going on as they ought, in the Neighbourhood of Camolin. Those frequent Burnings disgrace our Neighbourhood, and ought to be put a Stop to![1] The Blame will fall upon those, who I should wish to be free from the Imputation of winking at the too prevalent Disorders. I am often asked what my Yeomen are about, to suffer such nightly Depredations! Government are angry, and I should not be surprized if they forbid a Continuance of our permanent Duty! I am told that great Expectations have been raised about the Compensation to be paid to the Loyal Sufferers. But I have well founded fears that People will not be paid half their losses. There is no fund yet established, nor is there any likelyhood of it, as the Claims are too enormous to be discharged.[2] I am impatient for Blake to come

[1] "The Counties of Mayo, Wicklow, and Wexford, are still so disturbed, that it is impossible, with any effect, to send the King's commission into them: nothing but martial authority can repress the daring outrages of the Rebels, who still infest those counties" (Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Wickham, Phœnix Park, 19th November, 1798).—See *Castlereagh Correspondence*, Vol. II., p. 8. "I am sorry to say there are symptoms of returning turbulence in Wicklow, Kildare, Wexford, Antrim, Down, Tipperary. The French were expected at Christmas" (Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh, 20th December, 1798).—See *Ibid.*, Vol. II., pp. 49–50.

[2] Writing to Pitt four months later (29th March, 1799), Lord Castlereagh states that above 3,500 loyalists had sent in claims, involving about £600,000. "As the claimants are in general in the utmost distress," it was proposed that those who required sums under £500 should receive one-third. Claims amounting to £311,341 1s. 7d. were sent in by the inhabitants of Wexford prior to the 6th April, 1799 (Taylor, p. 168).—See also *ante*, p. 232. "Perhaps," says Gordon (p. 203), "if the whole amount of the detri-

up to Town, to settle the accounts as far as he and I can now that Mr Ashe is not to be found. Tell Chillingworth that I will write to him next Post! Remember me to all friends. "Your's faithfully,

"M."

[Address: "Dublin November Twenty two 1798. Lt Smith, Camolin Cavalry, Camolin, Gorey.—Mount Norris."]

"Novr 27th 1798.

"I am very sorry, my good Sir, to hear that a flag has been put upon the Church, and am convinced that whoever placed it there, had no good object in View, otherwise why not take the Sense of all the Inhabitants on the occasion, particularly of our worthy Pastor, who, as well as myself, ought to have been previously consulted. Jemmy Blake informed me of the particular State of things, which we all lament, as every honest man and good Subject must. It is the Duty of every Loyal Person, to endeavor to quiet the public Mind, and to bring back the Inhabitants to their Houses. *It is the Wish of Government* that religious controversy should cease, and they will consider those, who keep the War alive, as Enemies to their King and Country. I send you a note to my friend Billy Walsh to supply the needfull to my Men.

"Your's faithfully,

"Mt Norris.

"Remember me to all Friends. I hear that Mr

ment sustained by this unfortunate island, in consequence of the united conspiracy, were conjectured at two millions, a sum of such magnitude might not exceed, or even equal the reality."

Anthony Newbold thinks he is of our Corps, from which he has been many months struck out, therefore you must not allow him any pay, as it would be out of your own pocket.

" If you should receive a Parcel for the late Brigade Major FitzGerald, forward it by a military Express."

[Address : " Dublin November Twenty seven, 1798. Lt Smith, Camolin, Gorey.—Mount Norris."]

" Dear Smyth, " Dublin Jany 29th 1799.

" The Proposition for an Union is damned ! I contributed my Aid to the Rejection of a Measure which my Country decidedly disapproved of.[1] As the too prevalent Evil of the Day, appears to be a turn for Robbery, I beg *and make it a Point* with you, to *give your utmost aid to detect and* PUNISH EVERY sort of Peculation. Anyone, that does otherwise, I can never consider *my* friend ; for, till the Property of Individuals is considered safe, who is considered safe, who can support a Constitution, which is subjected to the Pilfering of every nightly Plunderer ? Let us then support the *Honor* of a Yeoman who is embodyed to support the civil Power ! Should any thing new occur, I hope to hear from you ! This City is perfectly quiet, and I trust that the public Peace will not be molested by any attempt at Innovation on the Constitution, who no one reverences more than I do ! Remember me to all Friends, in particular to your Son.

" Y^rs^ faithfully,

" Mt NORRIS.

[1] The proposal was rejected in the Irish Parliament in January, 1799.

"Pray write often to me! Every occurrence relative to the County of Wexford interests my feelings, beyond Expression."

[Address: "Dublin January Twenty nine 1799. Lieutenant Smyth, Camolin Cavalry, Camolin, Gorey. —Mount Norris."]

"Feby 9th [1799]

"Dear Smyth,

"Being obliged to go to London on particular Business, and having failed in my application 'to have both my Corps put upon permanent Duty' (it being contrary to Regulation) I shall not have the pleasure of seeing you before the middle of next Month, when Sir Frederick Flood and I are to return together, to the Country of Wexford. Should the French Consul put his Threats in force, I shall wheel back directly to Ireland, even if the News reaches me on the Road.[1] It is a great Satisfaction to me, to leave my Corps in your hands, for my opinion of your Courage and good Conduct can only be equalled by the Esteem, with which I am,

"Dear Smyth,

"Your's faithfully,

"Mt Norris.

"I depend on your, in future, constantly attending the Parades. Remember me to Tom and to all other real Friends."

[Address: "Captain Smyth."]

[1] The invasion of Ireland was then thought to be imminent.—See *Castlereagh Correspondence*, Vol. II., pp. 162–168, 180, 186, 193–195.

"Feby 12, 1799.

"I have omitted to write to you having nothing particular to communicate. The Idea of an Union has blown over, nor do I suppose that the Question will be again agitated, unless it shall be brought forward by our Countrymen! You have, I find from your letter, agreed to take Rockspring, and I sincerely wish it may answer. Having formed your Plan, it would be wrong to give you an opinion, tho' I consider it a very great undertaking, which I should hesitate embarking in even in Times previous to the Rebellion, and unless I had a capital of *2000£* to build upon, in Cash. There has not been any payment made on account of my Corps, but when I receive any, they shall hear from me. In the meantime, I should be very sorry that they wanted any thing, in my power to purchase for them. Remember me to all my brother Soldiers. Tell Jemmy Blake that I request to be informed, by the Return of Post, the times and Places, when and where my Troop and Company were upon permanent Duty. Your's faithfully,

"Mt Norris."

[Address: "Dublin February Twelve 1799. Lieut^{t} Smith, Camolin, Gorey.—Mount Norris."]

"Feby 21st 1799.

"Dear Sir,

"Of course, the Corps will comply with Genl Taylor's Requisition, as we shall otherwise be put off from permanent Pay, which would, I am afraid,

inconvenience them.[1] I am happy to hear that the Country is quieter ![2] . . .

" Your's faithfully,

" M——"

[Address: " Dublin February Twenty one 1799. Lieut[t] Smith, Camolin, Gorey.—Mount Norris."]

" April 23[d], 1799.

" I am shocked to hear that those nightly Depredators are still plundering in the County of Wexford, and that they have lately committed two Robberies at Meadowful.[3] We must search all about Ferns and in that neighbourhood, also near Ballycanew, as those Miscreants must be somewhere, and cannot be far off. Take out a Party of the Cavalry and Infantry to look for the Things lost, searching every house without distinction, which will prevent any one's being offended! Indeed, my good Lieutenant, we will not be allowed to continue a Corps, if such horrid Acts shall be repeated, for we are embodyed to preserve the Peace of that part of the District, and Blame must and will attach to us, unless by our Exertions we detect or

[1] In May, 1799, Lord Cornwallis "directed the yeomanry throughout the kingdom to be placed on permanent duty, in order to guard against the early enterprises of the disaffected, on its being understood that the enemy are at sea."

[2] According to information given voluntarily by Joseph Holt, details of which will be found in the *Castlereagh Correspondence*, Vol. II., pp. 186–187, the rebels had given up meetings, "but they carry on their plots by writing little notes to one another," and " encourage the disaffected to enlist in the regiments of Militia."

[3] These outrages were presumably committed by the " Babes in the Wood."—*See* Hay, p. 298.

prevent Repetition. Say every thing due and acceptable to all friends from, Dear Smith,

" Your's faithfully,

" Mt Norris."

[Address: " Lieut^t^ Smyth, Camolin Cavalry."]

" Head Quarters at Camolin, May 1st, 1799.

" Ordered that a guard of seven Infantry, one a non-commissioned Officer and of three Cavalry, be kept upon Duty, as well by Day as by night, during the 24 hours. Any person absenting himself, to be fined two Days pay, which is to form a fund for any extra appointments that may be deemed requisite for the Corps. Ordered that the expresses shall be conveyed by the Camolin Legion, when Camolin shall be expressed in the Rout[e], and in no other Case, except by the special Command of the General of the District, under whose Controul alone the Legion is to be considered. Should any field Officer pass through Camolin, an Escort as far as Ferns or Gorey ought to be given, tho' the aforesaid Officer has no Right to command it, as the military Regulation is against it. Any man losing a part of his appointments must have them replaced out of his pay, for which the paymaster should stop one shilling per week 'till the amount shall be discharged. The Sentry to mount guard at the Door of the commanding officer present. The second Sentry Box to be mounted at the guard House door. Any of the Guard who shall be found in Liquor to be confined 24 hours on Bread and Water, forfeiting two Days pay for the first offence; and if

guilty of said offence a second time, to be sent to New Town Barry or Gorey to be tryed by Martial Law. And, for the third Offence, to be fined, confined and drummed out, first being stripped of his Uniform &c. Any man, who shall draw his Sword, against his comrade, to be put under close arrest and to be tryed by Martial Law. Any man who shall omit to give the Salute to his Superior Officer to be reprimanded at the Head of the Corps. Any person behaving disrespectfully to his superior Officer to apologise at the Head of the Corps, which, if he shall refuse to do, he must be dismissed from the Legion, and rendered incapable of ever serving again in any Yeomanry Corps.

"Mt NORRIS, *Captain of the Camolin Legion.*"

"Every non commissioned Officer to see that those men under his immediate command come to Parade clean and fully accoutred, under the penalty of two Days pay, which shall be stopped from the Private, in case it appears that the s^d^ Private refused to comply with such orders from his superior.

"Ordered, *by Command of General Taylor*, that Nicholas Hollinsworth, John Jackaberry and Benjamin Jackaberry and Robert Lee be dismissed from the Camolin Cavalry for *Neglect of Duty*, and that they be required to deliver up all their appointments under the Penalty of ten pounds, pursuant to the Yeomanry Act.—Mt Norris, Captain of the Camolin Legion, May 1st 1799. Head Quarters, Camolin."

"Whenever a Cavalry man shall be upon Guard,

it is my Orders that he take the Command for the night, unless that there shall be a commissioned Officer of the Infantry present.

" Head Quarters
" at Camolin,
" May 2d, 1799 "

" Mt Norris,
" *Cap. Cam. Legion.*"

" May 22d, 1799

" You cannot conceive, my Dear Sir, how much hurt I feel at the late Conduct of the dismounted men of the Camolin Legion at Ferns. Should they dare to act in a similar manner again, Government shall know it and they will be degraded from the Rank of a Yeoman, which they have disgraced. I will not participate in that Disgrace, by conniving at such want of Discipline, such Dishonor to a set of men who as well as their families are supported by that Country for the maintainance of whose laws they were embodyed, and not to trample upon them. I feel mortifyed that any of my Tennantry, who were always so respected, should behave in [a] manner, that degrades human Nature. Let them look to the Lash, given by Government, to the Infantry of Rathfarnham, who have been disarmed and dismissed, as unworthy of serving their King, having turned Robbers, instead of being the Protectors of their Neighbours. Write to me soon and often and you will gratify, Dear Smyth,

" Your's faithfully,
" Mt Norris."

" Remember me to all Friends at Norris Mt and Camolin.

"I depend on your *right* Attention to the fair of Camolin, where the buyers and sellers must be protected. Let the Infantry be kept under Arms the whole time and whosoever dare to be riotous let them be marched, with a guard to New Town Barry."

[Address: "Dublin May Twenty three, 1799. Lt Smyth, Camolin, Gorey.—Mount Norris."]

"Febv 7, 1800.

"Dear Jack,

"I have given Directions to have three hundred pounds, besides what was lately paid, to be forthwith handed to Sir F. Flood, for the Regiment of my Cavalry and Infantry, whose accounts I mean to settle to the end of the year. I intended to have gone down to the Country next Week, but cannot now fix a time, having a great deal of Business on my Hands. I have sold my House in Dublin, as my future Plan is to pass a good deal of my time at Camolin, and as Gentlemen ought to reside upon their Property. Besides, my own Inclinations prompt me to spend a good part of my Income where I receive it. I hope this will find you and family well. Believe me, Dear Jack, with Esteem, Your's faithfully,

"Mount Norris."

[Address: "Dublin, February Seven, 1800. John Smyth, Esqre."]

There is a gap of three years in the Correspondence. The Earl no longer resents the Union, but is deeply incensed by the conduct of Napoleon, who was now busily preparing for the invasion of England:

ROBERT EMMET
From the collection of Mr. A. M. Broadley

" June 8th, 1803.

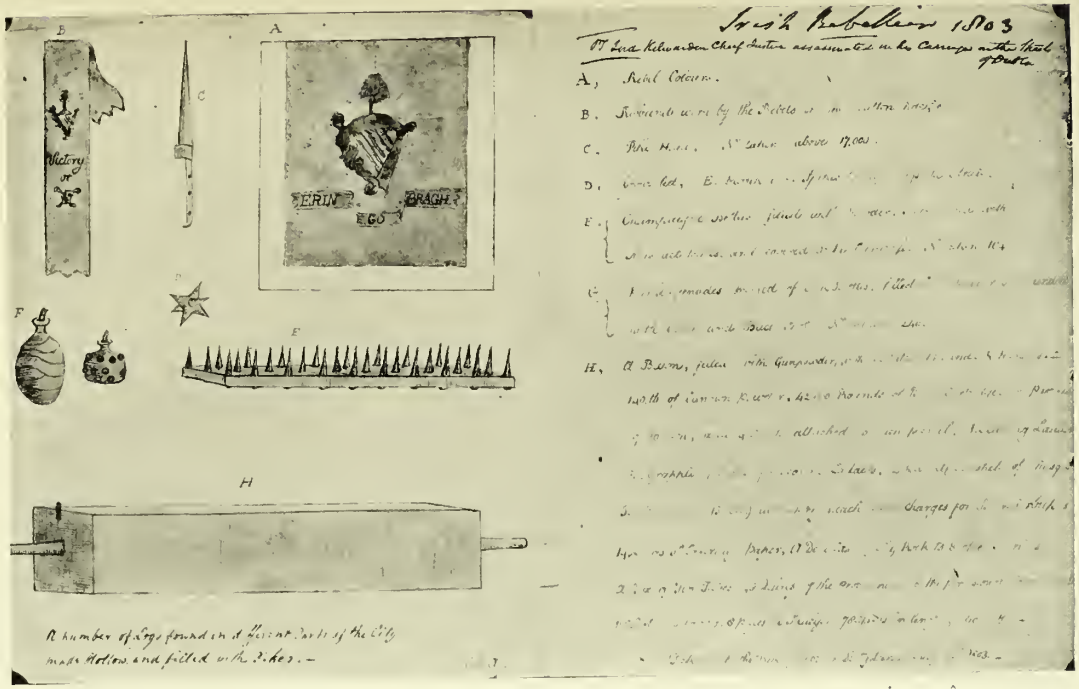
" Nothing has been a more bitter interuption of my domestick Comforts than the Accounts, which I have lately received, my Dear Sir, of the *sad Riot* which took place at the last Fair of Carnew. How it began or who were the agressors I have not been able to ascertain. But, in my opinion, whoever caused the tumult and whoever did not try to suppress it, deserves *severe* reprehension; and I hope that the keenest Lash of the Law will lay hold of them and punish them! I was in hopes that Party had so far subsided as to induce People to bury in Oblivion old grudges, and to consult their own Interest in preserving the Tranquility of their Country, which must otherwise become a Province to France, whose gripping Arm has *desolated* every Nation on which she has forced her galling Chains, by Intrigue, by threats, or by her armies.[1] If we are pleased with our present happy

[1] War was declared against France on the 16th May, 1803, and Bonaparte had announced his intention to invade England. It is evident that at one time Napoleon seriously thought of sending an expedition to Ireland. According to a letter from T. A. Emmet, the brother of the ill-fated Robert, to Dr. McNeven, dated 1st Pluviôse, 1804 (21st January), Napoleon had gone so far as to dictate a design for the colours, which were to bear the legend, "*L'independence de l'Irelande—Liberté de Conscience*," which is surely a proof of his intense political acumen. Robert Emmet's ill-considered attempt at rebellion was partly based on the belief that Bonaparte hoped to cross the Channel in August, 1803, and how impossible this would have been is proved by the fact that but few of the hundreds of small boats which he ordered to be built for the project were then on the stocks (see *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*, by H. F. B. Wheeler and A. M. Broadley, Vol. II.). Robert Emmet intended to attack Dublin Castle, secure the Viceroy and his family, and keep them as hostages. Dwyer, who had taken

Constitution, we should act with Unanimity, and join hand in hand in defending what every honest man will consider a common Cause. You have it in your power to conciliate, and I have no doubt (from my knowledge of your loyal Principles) of your exerting all your Influence to restrain Impetuosity when hurryed away by Passion and to counteract the deep Machinations of those who may wish to mislead the deluded Multitude by your utmost Endeavours to conciliate the Commonality, who can at all times be reduced to a Sense of their Duty should the gentle Art of Persuasion fail! I speak as a friend to my

part in the rebellion of '98, was to march from the Wicklow Mountains with 500 or more men, Nicholas Gray was to lead several thousands of Wexford men to the city, and a general rising was anticipated, more especially in the counties of Kildare, Wicklow, Wexford, Carlow, and Kilkenny. On the day of the proposed outbreak Dwyer failed to arrive owing to the non-delivery of a letter from Emmet, the Kildare men came and went, probably owing to treachery, and only 200 or 300 Wexford men stayed in Dublin to await orders. On the 23rd July, 1803, the eighty confederates who had gathered at the depôt in Marshalsea Lane were wrongly informed that the military were on their track. Determined to sell his life dearly, Emmet led his none too sober followers towards the Castle. Practically no order was maintained, murder and theft were committed with little discrimination, and the climax was reached by the cold-blooded assassination of Lord Kilwarden, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and his nephew. Emmet fled to the Wicklow mountains, but wishing to see Sarah Curran, to whom he was passionately attached, he indiscreetly made his way to Harold's Cross. He was arrested there on the 25th August, and executed on the 20th of the following month. The memory of Sarah Curran is kept green in Moore's sympathetic poem, beginning :

" She is far from the land where her young hero sleeps,
And lovers around her are sighing ;
But she coldly turns from their gaze and weeps,
For her heart in his grave is lying."



WEAPONS FOR USE IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE IRISH REBELLION, AND TAKEN AT EMMET'S DEPÔT IN DUBLIN ON THE 23RD JULY, 1803

From a contemporary drawing in the collection of Mr. A. M. Broadley

native Island! Whenever required I intend to head my brave Corps of Yeoman, who did themselves so much Credit and me so much Honour in the late cruel Rebellion. I beg you will immediately let me have or let Jemmy Blake send me an exact Statement of my Cavalry and infantry and of their appointments, writing to my friend, our Brigade Major (in the most urgent Terms) to have all Deficiencies replaced. As to the Politics of this Kingdom, however Individuals may differ, they are united in an unanimous Determination to give every energy to the executive Power. Our fleets were never in a more flourishing Situation, and such a Spirit has been imbibed by our Tars and our Soldiery as will make the Emperor of Gaul tremble on his Throne at the Tuileries, for I have no Doubt of the Event of this War of Necessity. Our Motto is to be, 'Death before Dishonour.' Remember me to all friends, in particular to Tom. Send your Answer under Cover to the Honble George Cavendish, Treasury, Dublin. Believe me, with Esteem,

"Dear Smyth,

"Your's faithfully,

"Mt Norris."

"Dublin Sep^tr 11th, 1803.

"Dear Smyth,

"I landed last night, after a Passage of thirty six Hours! You must immediately let me know what Deficiencies there are in the appointments of the Camolin Cavalry, as I shall only defer my Return to my Corps, 'till I can obtain them from the proper

offices. I request your answer by Return of Post! Your's with Esteem,

" very faithfully,

" Mt Norris.

" Best Comp^ts^ to Tom.[1] Remember me to my Corps, whom I long to be with."

[Address: " Captain Smyth."]

[1] In a letter dated " Feby 18th 1810," to " Dear Smyth," Lord Mount Norris says that the departure of Brownrigg of Norris Mount from the County of Wexford " enables me to comply with your's and my young friend Tom's wish ' that you should succeed him in the Command of the Mt Norris Rangers.' I comply with particular Pleasure." That the corps was still in existence in 1814 is proved by a letter from the Earl to the same correspondent, and dated " London, Jany 28th." The former had " escaped from the Jaws of Death," but he states that " I am likely to again visit my native Country, where I look forward with infinite pleasure to joining you and my respectable Cavalry, of whom I *often* think."

CHAPTER XIV

WHO WAS TO BLAME?

A general review of the History of Ireland presents few features that will gratify the pride of a native or the feelings of an Englishman. Conquered, without being subdued, a wild and unruly spirit of independence flickered amongst the chieftains from age to age, unextinguished by a deluge of blood:—the faith pledged to the victors was broken at every favourable opportunity; revolt succeeded revolt, and what was by one party considered as treason and rebellion, was by the other regarded as just, or at least justifiable: this proceeded from an imperfect and individual, rather than an universal conquest.

T. CROFTON CROKER.

THE Rt. Hon. James Bryce has given it as his opinion that there is "no parallel in modern history to the conduct of those who 'restored order' in 1798–9, except that of the Jacobin party in France during the Terror of 1793, and if there was more bloodshed during the Terror in France, there was more torture during the Terror in Ireland."[1] That there were wild excesses on both the Royalist and "Patriotic" sides will be admitted by all who have read any of the numerous contemporary narratives, many of which have been referred to in this volume. Certainly the melodramatic,

[1] *Two Centuries of Irish History, 1691–1870.* With Introduction by James Bryce, M.P. (1888), p. xxv.

if somewhat inaccurate drawings, by George Cruikshank in Maxwell's *History*, have scared some of us since childhood. A careful examination of the many authorities makes it appear probable, in the opinion of the present writers, that the men of Wexford, in whose beautiful county the flames of Rebellion raged fiercest, would never have resorted to arms had it not been for the outrages of the soldiery in the first instance.

"The atrocities on both sides were horrible," to quote Mr. Bryce again, "yet the massacres perpetrated by the peasantry at Vinegar Hill yield to the hideous cruelties in which the Orangemen revelled, and which the Government refused to repress or punish."[1] Dr. George Sigerson sums up the case in no less unmistakable language:[2] "Lord Charlemont[3] said: 'A rebellion of slaves is always more bloody than an insurrection of freemen.' The rebellion in Wexford justified the saying. Under no military control, undisciplined, and practically unled; goaded to revolt by intolerable barbarity, they flew to arms, without preparation, as a desperate resource. Such a struggle inevitably exhibited some of the features of a *jacquerie*. The peasants, refused quarter them-

[1] *Two Centuries of Irish History, 1691–1870.* With Introduction by James Bryce, M.P. (1888), p. xxv.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 166.

[3] James Caulfeild (1728–1799), fourth Viscount and first Earl of Charlemont. He rendered conspicuous service in commanding the levies raised for the defence of Belfast after Carrickfergus had been occupied by the French in February, 1760. Commander-in-chief of the Irish Volunteers, 1780; President of the Volunteer Convention held at Dublin, 1783.

JAMES CAULFEILD, EARL OF CHARLEMONT
From the collection of Mr. A. M. Broadley

selves, often gave none, and on some occasions committed acts of outrage and horror, in murderous retaliation, on their foes. Their leaders, clerical and lay, Protestant and Catholic, did their utmost to control them, and were generally successful. But, in some instances, the insurgents unhappily imitated the example of the regular soldiery; and, flushed with momentary success, wreaked a dreadful vengeance on the instruments of the tyrants by whom they had long been oppressed and degraded. . . . The truth is, outrages were not committed by rebels until they had been taught innumerable lessons in barbarity by their foes."

The correspondence of Viscount Castlereagh,[1] who undertook the arduous duties of Chief Secretary to Lord Camden during Mr. Pelham's illness, and subsequently succeeded to the office and served under the Marquess Cornwallis, contains many allusions to the matter. Drastic precautions had to be taken to prevent the troops from imbibing too freely, a temptation common in all warfare, but particularly harmful in Ireland at that time, when the whisky was fiery and of none too good a quality. Before the rebellion

[1] His *Memoirs*, especially the first two volumes, have been laid under severe contribution by the present writers, for Castlereagh bore much of the burden and heat of the day. If Lord Brougham in his *Historical Sketches of the Statesmen of the Reign of George III.* delivers him to Pilate on some points, he does not find it necessary to sit in judgment on the affairs of the rebellion. "Lord Castlereagh," he writes, "uniformly and strenuously set his face against the atrocities committed in Ireland; and that to him, more than perhaps any one else, was to be attributed the termination of the system stained with blood. . . ." (p. 126).

began Lieutenant-General Ralph Dundas was compelled to have a large quantity of liquor destroyed, "without which the troops would have got drunk, and done much mischief." [1] An officer of the Guards writing from Waterford on the 29th August, 1798, complained to the Duke of Portland of the outrageous behaviour of the Irish Militia, who plundered indiscriminately, terrorised the inhabitants, and got almost out of hand. "All confidence is lost wherever they make their appearance," he adds, and remarks that "drunkenness is prevalent beyond anything I ever witnessed before; and I am sorry to say our non-commissioned officers are not clear of this vice." [2] In the covering letter mention is made of "salutary measures, which his Excellency [the Lord-Lieutenant] will probably find it necessary to take for the re-establishment of order and discipline in the Irish army." [3]

Sir Ralph Abercromby, who was Commander-in-Chief in Ireland from December, 1797 to March, 1798, frankly admitted that he was disgusted with the behaviour of the army, and the testimony of the hero of Aboukir and Alexandria is not easily set aside.

Here is an excerpt from an order dated the 26th February, 1798, three months to a day before the rebel standard was raised in Wexford, which blurts

[1] *Castlereagh Correspondence*, Vol. I., p. 188. Letter from Lieut.-General R. Dundas to Sir R. Abercromby, dated Castle Martin, 23rd April, 1798.

[2] Extract from a letter, dated 29th August, 1798. *Ibid.*, Vol. I., p. 342.

[3] Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh, dated Whitehall, 10th September, 1798.—*Ibid.*, Vol. I., p. 341.

out incontestable facts in no compromising fashion, and had much to do with the General's subsequent recall. When truth is hauled up from the bottom of the well in which it is supposed to hide somebody suffers, usually the man at the winch. The path of the reformer in military matters is perilous in the extreme, whether it is traversed in 1798, 1898, or 1908. Abercromby comments on " the frequency of courts-martial and the many complaints of irregularities in the conduct of the troops in this kingdom having too unfortunately proved the army to be in a state of licentiousness which must render it formidable to every one but the enemy, the Commander-in-chief thinks it necessary to demand from all Generals commanding districts and brigades, as well as commanding officers of regiments, that they exert themselves and compel from all officers under their command the strictest and most unremitting attention to the discipline, good order, and conduct of their men, such as may restore the high and distinguished reputation which the British troops have been accustomed to enjoy in every part of the world. It becomes necessary to recur and most pointedly to attend to the standing orders of the kingdom, which at the same time that they direct military assistance to be given at the requisition of the civil magistrate, positively forbid the troops to act (except in case of attack) without his presence and authority, and the most clear and precise orders are to be given to the officer commanding the party for this purpose, . . ." [1]

[1] *Diary of Sir John Moore*, Vol. I., p. 283.

This order, in the opinion of Jacks in and out of office, contradicted that of Lord Carhampton which gave the military the right to act on their own initiative and without resorting to a magistrate.[1] However, the Lord-Lieutenant in Council proclaimed the whole kingdom to be in rebellion, and Abercromby had no alternative but to issue an order giving that military licence to which he had so rooted an objection.[2] Cranmer burnt the hand that had offended, and the Commander-in-chief forthwith tendered his resignation. In commenting on this occurrence in his Diary, Abercromby's colleague notes that "Those who have the government of the country seem to have no plan or system but that of terrifying the common people; they will give you every power to act against them, but the rest of the community are to be indulged in every abuse." Moore himself was tired of the sickening business and asked to be recalled. "The measures likely to be adopted will be most odious, and whoever attempts to execute them with lenity or moderation risks giving displeasure and being ruined."[3]

Repeated representations were made to Lord Camden, with the result that he gave instructions to General Lake, who succeeded Abercromby, that troops were not to live at free quarters for any length of time, as "the loyal and well-affected have in many

[1] See *ante*, Chapter I., p. 33.

[2] See *Castlereagh Correspondence*, Vol. I., pp. 164, 168–169.

[3] *Diary of Sir John Moore*, Vol. I., p. 288, under date, Bandon, 16th April [1798].

instances suffered in common with the disaffected, from a measure which does not admit in its execution of sufficient discrimination of persons. . . ."[1] Lake was therefore to "adopt such *other vigorous and effectual measures* for enforcing the speedy surrender of arms as in your discretion you shall think fit, and which shall appear to you not liable to these objections."[2] We know that Lake carried out his instructions to the letter; his was no sparing hand. "The measure of 'free quarters,'" says his biographer in mitigation of the General's methods, "was ordered by Lord Camden, the Governor-General in Ireland, and not by the military authorities, who merely carried out the orders of the civil power." He adds: "It appears, unhappily, clear that in Wexford, at least, the misconduct of the militia and yeomanry, and particularly that of a corps of German cavalry and of the Welsh corps known as the Ancient Britons, was largely to blame for the outbreak. No Englishman can read the accounts of what was done in that county before the outbreak without profound regret, nor can any consolation be derived from a catalogue of the subsequent horrors perpetrated by the rebels. It can only be said that cruelty and oppression produced a yet more savage revenge."[3]

Desertion to the rebels was by no means infrequent, and when the Bill of Pardon was being drafted it

[1] *Castlereagh Correspondence*, Vol. I., p. 189.

[2] Lord Castlereagh to Lieut.-General Lake, dated Dublin Castle, 25th April, 1798.—*Ibid.*, Vol. I., p. 189.

[3] *Memoirs of the Life and Military Services of Viscount Lake*, pp. 88 and 95.

was proposed to except from clemency all who had joined the insurgents and those who had administered illegal oaths, "this description of yeomen being the active seducers of their own body, and, in many instances, having entered into the service expressly for the purpose." [1] In the early days of the outbreak there was not much cause for complaint on this score, the militia acting with "the most determined spirit," and a few corps of yeomanry only having been corrupted. These facts seem to have somewhat surprised the authorities at Dublin Castle. "In this point of view," writes Castlereagh to Mr. Wickham, "the insurrection, if repressed with energy, will have proved an invaluable test of our national force, on the disaffection of which our enemies either actually did, or professed, very extensively to rely." [2] Three months later Camden was complaining of the misbehaviour of the Longford and Kilkenny regiments, and not without reason, for over 100 of the rank-and-file eventually deserted to the rebels, while the state of the army was "very alarming." [3] Lord Cornwallis, who never censured without reason and was inclined to smooth things over whenever possible, was obliged to call attention at head-quarters to the disgraceful conduct of the 5th Dragoons, and both the King and the Duke of York advised the "breaking"

[1] Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Wickham, dated Dublin Castle, 30th July, 1798.—*Castlereagh Correspondence*, Vol. I., p. 244.

[2] Dated Dublin Castle, 12th June, 1798.—*Ibid.*, Vol. I., pp. 219–220.

[3] Lord Camden to Castlereagh, dated Walmer Castle, 25th September, 1798.—*Ibid.*, Vol. I., p. 378.

of the regiment.[1] On another occasion he writes: "I am much afraid that any man in a brown coat who is found within several miles of the field of action, is butchered without discrimination."[2] A more damning admission it is impossible to conceive.

Of the unjustifiable attempts of magistrates to exact information the less said the better. The notorious case of High Sheriff Thomas Judkin Fitzgerald of Tipperary is perhaps the most glaring instance. His zeal was second only to his cruelty, and he displayed such passion towards sinner and innocent alike, that an action was brought against him in the early days of 1799, which he lost. The House of Commons also debated the matter. The lash was Fitzgerald's favourite instrument of torture, and he used it with an unsparing hand to induce suspected persons to reveal secrets. At Clonmel he sentenced a Mr. Wright to be flogged, confined him in jail, refused him medical attendance for several days, and when the worm turned had to pay him compensation to the extent of £500. This inhuman representative of law and order received a vote of thanks from the Grand Jury of Tipperary for the active part he had taken in suppressing the rebellion.[3] Sir John Moore witnessed such another flogging in the open street when he was passing through Clogheen on his way to Waterford. With bowed knees and

[1] Lord Camden to Castlereagh, dated Arlington Street, 15th January, 1799.—*Castlereagh Correspondence*, Vol. II., p. 112.

[2] To the Duke of Portland, dated Dublin Castle, 28th June, 1798.—*Cornwallis Correspondence*, Vol. II., p. 357.

[3] Lecky, Vol. IV., p. 277.

bared heads the country people were witnessing the unseemly spectacle, probably wondering whose turn it was next. Fitzgerald was exacting information with the aid of the lash. Moore tells us that he had "already flogged truth out of several respectable persons, who had confessed themselves to be generals, colonels, captains, &c., of the rebels. The rule was to flog each person till he told the truth and gave the names of other rebels. These were then sent for and underwent a similar operation. Undoubtedly several persons were thus punished who richly deserved it. The number flogged was considerable. It lasted all the forenoon. That some were innocent I fear is equally certain. Mr. FitzGerald, however, is considered as an active good magistrate, and it is universally allowed that he will soon restore perfect tranquillity. There must be persons who disapprove of such promiscuous and severe punishments. I am convinced that Mr. FitzGerald is acting conscientiously, and conceives he deserves praise; he said so to the people assembled in a long speech, which was received with shouts and 'God save the King'"[1] According to Miles Byrne, "Archibald Hamilton Jacob and the Enniscorthy yeomen cavalry never marched out of the town without being accompanied by a regular executioner, with his ropes, cat-o'-nine-tails, etc. Hawtry White, Solomon Richards, and a Protestant minister of the name of Owens were all notorious for their cruelty and persecuting spirit; the latter particularly so,

[1] *Diary of Sir John Moore*, Vol. I., pp. 294–295.

putting on pitch caps, and exercising other torments." [1]

Gordon, the Protestant historian, and probably the most reliable of them all, cannot find excuse for the barbarous means often employed to bring suspects to their senses. He also confesses that he is unable to venture an opinion as to whether these acts of severity actually brought the insurrection to a head. Gordon asserts, however, that "In the neighbourhood of Gorey, if I am not mistaken, the terror of the whippings was in particular so great, that the people would have been extremely glad to renounce for ever all notions of opposition to government, if they could have been assured of permission to remain in a state of quietness." He instances the case of a man named Dennis M'Daniel, which came under his own observation. This poor fellow, who was a labourer, confessed to him that he had taken the United Irishmen's oath and paid 1s. 7½d. for a pike which was not in his possession. Gordon advised him to surrender to a magistrate, which was the usual course, but this he refused to do because of the thrashing usually administered to those who could not produce a weapon or state where it could be found. M'Daniel was therefore told to remain quietly at home, which he did, but so great was his fear of punishment that he fell down dead a few days later near Gordon's house.[2]

[1] *Memoirs of Miles Byrne*, Vol. I., p. 23. In the general retreat from Wexford Jacob made good his escape to Waterford, and from thence to England (*see* Hay, p. 118).

[2] Gordon, pp. 88–89.

The same authority also tells us that "A mode of proceeding against imputed rebels, more summary still than that of trials by court-martial, was practised from the commencement of the rebellion by soldiers, yeomen, and supplementaries, who frequently executed without any trial such as they judged worthy of death, even persons found unarmed in their own houses. This practice of the soldiery and yeomen, which, conducted with too little discrimination of guilt and innocence, denied safety at home to the peaceably inclined, augmented for a time the numbers of the rebels, and would, on their dispersion, have in great measure depopulated the country, if it had not been restrained by the just policy of government, on the appointment of the Marquis Cornwallis, in place of Lord Camden, to the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland. . . . The earlier appointment of such a Viceroy might have prevented rebellion, and consequently the loss of thousands of lives and of immense property to the kingdom. His activity and wisdom, in the discharge of his high function, soon exhibited a new phenomenon in a country where the viceroyalty had been generally a sinecure, and the Viceroy a pageant of State."[1] He adds on a later page of his interesting volume: "The devastation and plundering sustained by the loyalists was not the work of the rebels alone. Great part of the damage was committed by the soldiery, who commonly completed the ruin of deserted houses, in which they had their quarters, and often plundered without distinction of loyalist and croppy. . . . By

[1] Gordon, pp. 188–189.

what influence the plundering was permitted so long to the soldiery, in some parts of the country, after the rebellion was quelled, I shall not at present pretend to state. The publication of some facts, of which I have acquired information, may not perhaps be as yet safe." [1]

Authentic instances of the ferocious character of the soldiery could be multiplied until they filled a volume, but the reader is referred to the records of Hay, Teeling, Holt, Taylor, Byrne, Gordon, and many others. Although some of them are violent partisans of the rebels, it is obvious that when the same stories are repeated they cannot all be based on myth. Often little or no quarter was given, houses were set on fire, villages were pillaged, women outraged, and children brutally treated. Lecky singles out for special mention in this direction the North Cork Militia, the Welsh Regiment of Ancient Britons, and two Hessian regiments.[2] Of the yeomanry corps perhaps that of Hunter Gowan, a magistrate who commanded a band of bloodthirsty individuals nicknamed the "black mob," [3] is the most notorious.

The North Cork Militia was commanded by Lord Kingsborough, and consisted largely of Orangemen.

[1] Gordon, p. 197.

[2] Lecky, Vol. IV., p. 275. See also Gordon (p. 197), who remarks: "The Hessians exceeded the other troops in the business of depredation; and many loyalists who had escaped from the rebels, were put to death by these foreigners.—To send such troops into the country in such a state of affairs, was, in my humble opinion, a wrong step in government, who cannot be supposed indifferent to the lives of loyal subjects."

[3] *Memoirs of Miles Byrne*, Vol. I., p. 24.

Their favourite mode of obtaining information from suspects was by means of a cap of linen or brown paper, profusely covered with pitch, which was heated and placed on the head of the unfortunate victim. To get the pitch-cap off was as difficult as it was painful, and one can easily believe that not only the hair, but parts of the scalp were frequently torn off in the process. Anyone who wore his hair short was immediately dubbed a United Irishman, that being one of their distinguishing marks, although an extremely foolish one, and as such was regarded as legitimate quarry. This was but one of the methods of warfare utilised by the North Cork Militia, and according to Edward Hay, no responsible person ever interfered.[1] Gordon instances the case of a soldier of the Downshire Militia in plain clothes who was ill-used by the North Cork men because they mistook him for a " croppy." Three officers and many soldiers were wounded in the fray which ensued, and the result would have been even more serious had not the former succeeded in getting their recalcitrant troops under control.[2] " The wearing of the green " also aroused suspicion, from which members of the fair sex were not exempt.

Although it cannot be said that Sir John Moore had any great belief in his fellow-men—his Diary certainly reveals him a confirmed pessimist—his sincerity cannot be doubted in the actual records

[1] *History of the Insurrection*, etc., pp. 57–59.

[2] Gordon, pp. 58–59. This incident happened in Wicklow, April, 1798.

he has left of the stormy days of '98. The rebel historians, as we have already noticed, invariably speak of him as a man of honour and considerably less of a barbarian than Lake; indeed, it would not be far wrong to say that they regard him with something approaching affection. After helping to take St. Lucia in 1796 while serving in Sir Ralph Abercromby's expedition to the West Indies, Moore had been made Governor of the island, from which he returned, somewhat broken in health and spirits, in the summer of the following year. When Abercromby was appointed Commander-in-Chief in Ireland Moore was asked to join his staff "as a brigadier," and on 2nd December, 1797, he landed at Dublin. From Cove he was removed to Bandon, where he took over a command of upwards of 3,000 men, who were "considered as the advanced corps of the south," [1] invasion being thought highly probable if not actually imminent. From the beginning he saw the injustice of many of the acts of those in authority. Individuals arrested upon suspicion and exiled; districts proclaimed and the military put upon free quarters—all are duly noted. "By these means the disturbances have been quelled," he notes on the 10th January, 1798, "an apparent calm produced, but the disaffection has been undoubtedly increased. The gentlemen in general, however, still call out aloud for violent measures as the most proper to be adopted, and a complete line seems to be drawn between the upper and lower orders." [2]

[1] *The Diary of Sir John Moore*, Vol. I., p. 272.
[2] *Ibid*, Vol. I., p. 271.

He finds the men under his command, many of whom were Militia, "upon the whole well-behaved," but with "no sort of respect for their officers," who "are in general profligate and idle." [1] "The officers of the Militia," he adds, "are in general Protestants, the men Roman Catholics. The hatred between these different persuasions is inveterate to a degree, and the officers have so little sense or prudence as not to conceal their prejudices." [2] To Moore, who hated the strife of sects, and might well have asked with Carlyle, "Why should we misknow one another, fight not against the enemy but against ourselves, from mere difference of uniform?" [3] this was well-nigh intolerable. Moore maintains that whereas the Roman Catholics had been "enemies to the liberty and constitution of these kingdoms," the objection had ceased to maintain for many years. "Can it then be sound policy in a Government to favour one part of its inhabitants against nineteen that are oppressed? Every man is oppressed to whom the privileges of his fellow-citizens are denied. That so much has been granted to the Roman Catholics is a bad argument for withholding from them the little that remains." [4] A few days after Moore had committed this opinion to the privacy of his Diary he had occasion to speak to his troops on some meetings

[1] *Diary of Sir John Moore*, Vol. I., p. 273; see also pp. 277 and 281 in this connection.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 274.

[3] *On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History* (Ed. Chapman and Hall, 1893), p. 111.

[4] *Diary of Sir John Moore*, Vol. I., p. 275.

of "Orange boys" which had been held. He told them very plainly that "for a man to boast or be proud of his religion was absurd. It was a circumstance in which he had no merit; he was the one or the other because his parents were so before him, and it was determined for him before he had a choice. Any man might fairly pride himself upon being just and honest, but not on his religion. If they followed the doctrines of the one or the other they would be good and upright." [1]

When Moore received instructions in April, 1798, to disarm the Carberries,[2] he remarks: "The better sort of people seemed all delighted with the operation except when it touched their own tenants, by whose ruin they saw they themselves must suffer, but they were pleased that the people were humbled, and would be civil. I found only two gentlemen who acted with liberality or manliness; the rest seemed in general to be actuated by the meanest motives. The common people have been so ill-treated by them, and so often deceived, that neither attachment nor confidence any longer exists. They have yielded in this instance to force, are humbled, but irritated to a great degree, and unless the gentlemen change their conduct and manner towards them, or Government steps in with regulations for the protection of the lower from the upper order, the pike will appear again very soon." [3]

A few quotations from the correspondence of Lord

[1] *Diary of Sir John Moore*, Vol. I., p. 280.

[2] The country which lies from Crookham along the coast to Bandon.

[3] *Diary of Sir John Moore*, Vol. I., p. 290.

Cornwallis, who found his position as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland altogether devoid of the brilliancy of the latter-day Viceregal Court and that of Commander-in-Chief far from enviable, may not be out of place. In endeavouring to arrive at a thorough understanding of a case prolixity has its use even in a court of law, and we are bound to admit that the evidence in this historical retrospect is extremely and embarrassingly voluminous.

Writing on the 1st July, 1798, he confides to Major-General Ross that "The violence of our friends, and their folly in endeavouring to make it a religious war, added to the ferocity of our troops who delight in murder, most powerfully counteract all plans of conciliation."[1] Seven days later he tells the Duke of Portland that "The Irish militia are totally without discipline, contemptible before the enemy when any serious resistance is made to them, but ferocious and cruel in the extreme when any poor wretches either with or without arms come within their power; in short, murder appears to be their favourite pastime."[2] Lord Cornwallis had no better to say of the yeomanry. "The overt rebellion is certainly declining, . . . but the whole country is in such a state that I feel frightened and ashamed whenever I consider that I am looked upon as being at the head of it. Except in the instances of the six state trials[3] that are going on here [Dublin], there is no law either

[1] *Cornwallis Correspondence*, Vol. II., p. 357.

[2] Dublin Castle, 8th July, 1798.—*Ibid.*, p. 359.

[3] Of Henry and John Sheares, Byrne, Maccan, Bond, and Neilson for high treason. They were all concerned in the rebellion.

in town or country but martial law, and you know enough of that to see all the horrors of it, even in the best administration of it, judge then how it must be conducted by Irishmen heated with passion and revenge. But all this is trifling compared to the numberless murders that are hourly committed by our people without any process or examination whatever. The yeomanry are in the style of the Loyalists in America, only much more numerous and powerful, and a thousand times more ferocious. These men have saved the country, but they now take the lead in rapine and murder. The Irish militia, with few officers, and those chiefly of the worst kind, follow closely on the heels of the yeomanry in murder and every kind of atrocity, and the Fencibles take a share, although much behindhand with the others. The feeble outrages, burnings, and murders which are still committed by the Rebels, serve to keep up the sanguinary disposition on our side; and as long as they furnish a pretext for our parties going in quest of them, I see no prospect of amendment.

"The conversation of the principal persons of the country all tend to encourage this system of blood, and the conversation even at my table, where you will suppose I do all I can to prevent it, always turns on hanging, shooting, burning, &c., &c., and if a priest has been put to death the greatest joy is expressed by the whole company. So much for Ireland and my wretched situation."[1]

[1] Major-General Ross. Dublin Castle, 24th July, 1798.—*Ibid.*, p. 371.

When Humbert and his men arrived on the scene, the disaffection in the militia regiments still continued, and the disgraceful behaviour at " the races of Castlebar " has been referred to briefly in an earlier chapter. Writing from Balinamore on the 31st August, Captain Taylor tells Lord Castlereagh that " Every endeavour has been used to prevent plunder in our corps, but it really is impossible to stop it in some of the regiments of militia with us, particularly the light battalions." [1] He affirms that the women were " far the greatest plunderers," but they had now been left behind. On the same day the Viceroy was forced to issue General Orders asking all officers " to assist him in putting a stop to the licentious conduct of the troops, and in saving the wretched inhabitants from being robbed, and in the most shocking manner ill-treated by those to whom they had a right to look for safety and protection. Lord Cornwallis declares, that if he finds that the soldiers of any regiment have had opportunities of committing these excesses from the negligence of their officers, he will make those officers answerable for their conduct; and that if any soldiers are caught either in the act of robbery, or with the articles of plunder in their possession, they shall be instantly tried, and immediately execution shall follow their conviction." [2] After the surrender of the French forces he thanked the army for its zeal, spirit, perseverance, and meritorious exertions, and concluded with a special reference to

[1] *Cornwallis Correspondence*, Vol. II., p. 396.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 397.

the good conduct of the yeomanry, who "have rendered the greatest services, and are particularly entitled to the acknowledgment of the Lord-Lieutenant, from their not having tarnished that courage and loyalty, which they displayed in the cause of their King and country, by any acts of wanton cruelty towards their deluded fellow-subjects." [1]

Lord Holland, writing from the Whig point of view, naturally sides with the insurrectionists, but he admits that "The propensity to exaggeration, common to all Irishmen, renders it extremely difficult to ascertain the exact truth as to any transaction in that country." [2] It is an "incontrovertible" fact, he assures us, "that the people of Ireland were driven to resistance, which possibly they meditated before, by the free quarters and the excesses of the soldiery, which were such as are not permitted in civilised warfare, even in an enemy's country." [3] The nobleman whose name is inseparably associated with the brilliant Holland House circle pours scorn on the trials under martial law, and he would have us believe that Justice sat deaf as well as blindfolded when they were being held. "It often happened," he says, "that three officers composed the Court, and that of the three, two were under age, and the third an officer of the Yeomanry or Militia, who had sworn in his Orange Lodge eternal hatred to the people over whom he

[1] General Orders. Head-quarters, Camp near St. Johnstown. 9th September, 1798.—*Cornwallis Correspondence*, Vol. II., pp. 403–4.

[2] *Memoirs of the Whig Party during my Time*, Vol. I., p. 112.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 113.

was thus constituted a judge. Floggings, picketings, death, were the usual sentences, and these were sometimes commuted into banishment, serving in the fleet, or transference to a foreign service. Many were sold at so much per head to the Prussians.[1] Other less legal, but not more horrible, outrages were daily committed by the different corps under the command of Government. Even in the streets of Dublin, a man was shot and robbed of 30*l.* on the loose recollection of a soldier's having seen him in the battle of Kilcally, and no proceeding was instituted to ascertain the murder or prosecute the murderer. Lord Wycombe, who was in Dublin, and who was himself shot at by a sentinel between Black Rock and that city, wrote to me many details of similar outrages, which he had ascertained to be true. Dr. Dickson (Bishop of Down) [2] assured me that he had seen families re-returning peaceably from mass assailed, without provocation, by drunken troops and yeomanry, and the wives and daughters exposed to every species of indignity, brutality, and outrage, from which neither his remonstrances, nor those of other Protestant gentlemen, could rescue them." [3]

Sir Jonah Barrington briefly refers to the matter in his discursive *Personal Sketches*.[4] " I was," he says,

[1] " I have much satisfaction in informing your Lordship that, contrary to my expectation, the King of Prussia has consented to receive the Irish recruits " (Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh, Whitehall, 8th May, 1799).—See *Castlereagh Correspondence*, Vol. II., p. 300.

[2] William Dickson (1745–1804), Bishop of Down and Connor.

[3] *Memoirs of the Whig Party*, Vol. I., pp. 113–114.

[4] Pp. 145–146.

"at all times ready and willing to risk my life to put down that spirit of mad democracy which sought to subvert all legal institutions, and to support every true principle of the constitution which protected us; but at the same time I must in truth and candour say, and I say it with reluctance, that during those most sanguinary scenes the brutal conduct of certain frantic royalists was at least on a parallel with that of the frantic rebels."

Absentee landlordism has been one of the many curses of Ireland, an insidious serpent which has defied modern St. Patricks, and had the gentry done their duty in the matter of settling down on their estates when the rebellion was almost crushed confidence would doubtless have been restored much sooner and with considerably less bloodshed on both sides.[1] Cornwallis fully recognised this evil, but he had a much more serious problem to face. "The principal persons of this country," he tells Portland in a private and confidential communication, "and the Members of both Houses of Parliament, are, in general, averse to all acts of clemency, and although they do not express, and perhaps are too much heated to see the ultimate effects which their violence must produce, would pursue measures that could only terminate in the extirpation of the greater number of the inhabitants,

[1] His Majesty King Edward VII. has had occasion to refer to this matter. "I am assured," he says, "that if the many gentlemen and landlords who very often find some difficulty in leaving England, but who have large interests and large estates in this country [Ireland], could contrive to come over here more frequently, it would do more good than anything else I could imagine."

and in the utter destruction of the country. The words Papists and Priests are for ever in their mouths, and by their unaccountable policy they would drive four-fifths of the community into irreconcilable rebellion; and in their warmth they lose sight of the real cause of the present mischief, of that deep-laid conspiracy to revolutionize Ireland on the principles of France, which was originally formed, and by wonderful assiduity brought nearly to maturity, by men who had no thought of religion but to destroy it, and who knew how to turn the passions and prejudices of the different sects to the advancement of their horrible plot for the introduction of that most dreadful of all evils, a Jacobin revolution." [1]

While we do not think that the latter contention is sufficiently proven, there can be no doubt as to the allegations against certain Members of Parliament continuing to beat the war-drum as violently as possible when the bugle had almost ceased to be heard in the field, and when, as Cornwallis says, the rebellion was "reduced to a predatory system in the mountains of Wicklow and the bogs of Kildare" the importance attached to the doings of miscreants "is purposely exaggerated by those who wish to urge Government to the continuance of violent measures, or, according to a fashionable phrase of some men of great consequence here, *to keep Government up to their traces.*" He recapitulates his conviction that, "as far as it concerns the great mass of the deluded people, amnesty

[1] Dated Dublin Castle, 8th July, 1798.—*Cornwallis Correspondence*, Vol. II., p. 360.

is more likely to succeed than extirpation," adding the significant statement that "My sentiments have coincided with those of the British Cabinet and with those of the Chancellor,[1] whose character has been much misrepresented in England." [2] Later the Viceroy tells us that "the minds of people are now in such a state, that nothing but blood will satisfy them, and although they will not admit the term, their conversation and conduct point to no other mode of concluding this unhappy business than that of extirpation." [3] When Oliver Bond's life was saved by Arthur O'Connor, Dr. McNeven, and Thomas Addis Emmet agreeing to furnish full particulars of the conspiracy to Government and incurring perpetual banishment, Castlereagh made no secret of the amount of "feeling" on the subject, but told Wickham in unmistakable terms that ". . . The respite of Mr. Bond did not fail to produce considerable warmth in this town, [Dublin] to which the conversation of some of the friends of Government materially contributed. Every sort of misrepresentation prevailed, and there were many well-disposed men indiscreet enough to expect in Parliament an explanation of the grounds upon which Government had acted. In moving an adjournment till the 9th I had an opportunity of repressing the disposition to clamour too prevalent amongst our friends, and one of them

[1] John Fitzgibbon, Earl of Clare.

[2] To Major-General Ross, Dublin Castle, 13th July, 1798.—*Cornwallis Correspondence*, Vol. II., pp. 363–364.

[3] To the Duke of Portland, Dublin Castle, 26th July, 1798.—*Ibid.*, p. 374.

observed with very great spirit upon the pains that had been taken out of doors to mislead the public mind on this subject. . . ."[1]

The editor of the *Castlereagh Correspondence* is forced to admit that " the sanguinary scenes enacted there, [in Wicklow and Wexford] not by rebels only, but by the King's forces also, were most disgraceful to both parties " ; but we are not altogether in agreement with him in his concluding remarks as to " the detestable ingratitude which appears so frequently in the conduct of the lower Irish as almost to make one doubt whether attachment or kindly feeling for benefits received find any place in the national character." While we do not hold a brief for the malcontents, impartial historians cannot be blind to the patent fact that when poverty enters the door patriotism often flies out of the window. Several years after the rebellion Sir Walter Scott paid a brief visit to Ireland, and although he hesitated to give his opinion " upon a subject so difficult to comprehend," we think he was nearer to the solution of the problem than his modesty permitted him to allow. Surely the novelist hid his identity in the statesman when he wrote: " I had a strong belief in the progressive influence of common sense, when it gets permission to act, in silencing party spirit, even at the expense of concessions. At the same time, this is only a general opinion, hastily formed by a stranger, much unacquainted with the peculiar circumstances of a

[1] Viscount Castlereagh to William Wickham, Esq., Dublin, 31st July, 1798.—*Cornwallis Correspondence*, Vol. II., p. 381.

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country which must be in one sense termed very unfortunate, though so fine a land in itself, and containing so noble a population as the Irish undoubtedly are." [1]

Humanitarian principles and warfare are not necessarily antagonistic, although a prolonged course of Froude might perhaps lead us to this conclusion. We do not hold that Abercromby, Cornwallis, and Moore showed the "white feather" because their justice was tempered with mercy. Whether the inhabitants of a conquered country have a right to rebel, either from a legal, political, or a moral point of view, is a problem as difficult of solution as that of free-will. History has provided many instances of the slave becoming the taskmaster. The English have certainly not been conspicuously successful in their rule of Ireland, but they saved her from herself in the latter days of the eighteenth century, and from the iron fetters with which Jacobin France would most surely have bound her. If the sores of '98 are not yet healed the wound is slowly closing, and a rejuvenated Ireland may yet become one of the triumphs of Democratic civilisation.

[1] *Cornwallis Correspondence*, Vol. I., pp. 103–104.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

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A Map
of the COUNTY of WEXFORD
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